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ṢAḤĪḤ AL-BUKHĀRĪ

VOLUME V

SAHÎH AL-BUKHÂRÎ

BEING TRADITIONS OF THE SAYINGS AND DOINGS OF THE
PROPHET MUḤAMMAD / NARRATED BY HIS COMPANIONS TO
THOSE WHO FOLLOWED THEM / AND COMPILED UNDER THE
TITLE *KITÂB AL-JÂMI' AṢ-ṢAḤÎḤ* BY IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH
ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ MUḤAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'ÎL AL-BUKHÂRÎ ﷺ ﷺ ﷺ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC
WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY
MUHAMMAD ASAD

VOLUME V

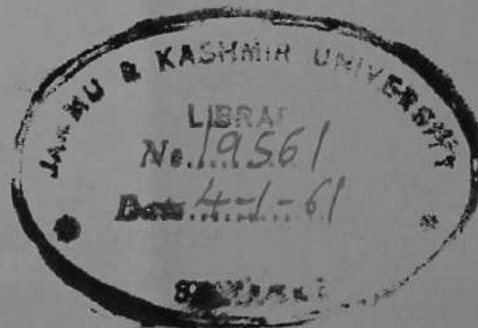


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THE BEGINNINGS OF ISLÂM

CHAPTER LII
THE BOOK OF CAMPAIGNS

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لقد كان لكم في رسول الله أسوة حسنة
(سورة "الأحزاب")

*Verily, in the Apostle of God
ye have a good example.*

(SŪRAH XXXIII, 21)

PREFACE TO VOLUME V

A PRELIMINARY edition of the First Part of this work, comprising the chapters "How the Revelation Began" and "The Book of Faith", has been published as long ago as December, 1935. But the great expenditure involved in the production of a work of this magnitude has obliged the publishers to postpone the issue of further volumes until a time when the response of the public would justify this venture; and now, after the lapse of more than two years, they believe that this time has come. In this respect I am greatly indebted to the Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad; himself a lover of Islâmic culture and learning, he has encouraged me in my labours almost from their inception, and has been instrumental in bringing them to the notice of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, who has been pleased to sanction a Government grant for the purchase of a considerable number of copies of this work. Another illustrious Indian Prince, His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, has graciously presented to the Arafat Publications the beautiful Arabic types which have been used for printing this book.

There is no doubt that the Muslim world was long in need of a faithful and sufficiently annotated English version of the greatest work on Islâmic Traditions. The seeming lack of interest in the past decades was not so much due to a real indifference of Muslims with regard to this branch of Islâmic literature as to the strange prejudices which European orientalists have brought to bear on the subject, either directly or through the medium of Muslim writers educated predominantly on Western lines. As a matter of fact, it is the older Muslim authors themselves who were partly responsible for these prejudices and misconceptions. Enveloped as they were in the folds of Neo-Platonic philosophy, they could not rise to that spacious outlook and independence of thought without which it is impossible to appreciate the earliest manifestations of Islâm in their true aspect. Their conceptions of the social, psychological and economic factors underlying the teachings of Islâm were deficient in many respects; and their often narrow-minded interpretation of some of the most important Islâmic problems has created a certain amount of distrust as regards Traditions in the modern Muslim mind. It is true that the enormous labours of the early Traditionists, especially in relation to the biographies of the Companions and the later transmitters of Traditions, as well as their technical investigation of the ways of transmission, are priceless beyond words and have produced a truly magnificent structure of historical criticism, of which Muslims have every right to be proud. But are we to assume that all possibilities of interpretation and explanation have been exhausted by those early works, and that nothing remains for us but blindly to follow them without the right to criticise?

It is the object of this work to prove, firstly, that the "scholastic" interpretation of so many ḥadith by Muslim theologians from the fourth century A.H. onwards does not always coincide with the intentions of the Founder of Islâm and his Companions. Secondly, that the methods of the early Traditionists are by no means to be lightly dismissed as "unscientific", as is being done by a certain school of thought among European orientalists who have erected their edifices on the shifty sands of Goldziher's theories on Tradition in his Muhammedanische Studien. I rather believe that after a careful study of Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî the unbiassed student will come to the conclusion that never has there existed a historical document, relating to a past period, which was more firmly based on facts or better authenticated by external and internal evidence than this work which represents the climax of the science of Tradition.

The third,* and perhaps the most important, object I had in view when undertaking this work, was the inducement it may offer to Muslims of this age to start a more intensive inquiry into the original spirit of Islām. For this reason, the fifth volume (out of the eight which will comprise the whole work), containing the life-history of the Prophet and his Companions, is being published first, as it provides the historical background so necessary for a proper understanding of the whole Corpus of Traditions.

While translating this book, I have tried to render its meaning as literally as possible—sometimes, I am afraid, at the expense of the English language. Whatever I had to say myself has been confined to the explanatory notes, and wherever an addition was unavoidable in the text itself for the sake of clearness, I have used brackets to indicate the additions thus made. Each Tradition has been divided, by means of different sizes of types, into two parts: the documentary evidence of transmission (isnād) and the textual substance (matn). Al-Bukhārī's tarājim al-abwāb have been printed in italics. The letter T before some of the isnāds shows that the Tradition in question is a ta'liq ("suspended") on account of a missing link in the isnād. The letter h indicates a tahwīl ("transfer") to another line of transmitters.

The translation is based on the most accurate of all existing editions, namely, that printed by order of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid at the Maṭba'ah al-Amiriyyah, Cairo, 1313 A.H. Other reliable editions have been frequently consulted.

And now a word about the printing of the Arabic text side by side with the translation. In Muslim countries, this system has been well received, because it enables the lay reader to check at every step the exactitude of the translation. But some European scholars have pointed out to me that this unnecessarily increases the volume of the work and, consequently, the cost of production; and that the student could well avail himself of any of the existing copies of the Ṣaḥīḥ whenever he feels the necessity of independent criticism. I cannot admit the objection as valid. The old style in which all the existing copies of this and other works on Tradition were printed makes it, in many cases, exceedingly difficult to separate the frequent interpolations of the transmitters from the textual substance of the Traditions, and sometimes even leads to a confusion of utterances of different persons with the narrator's statement of facts contained in the matn. Thus, the Arabic text in our edition—arranged as it is on the same principle as the English translation—presents the Ṣaḥīḥ for the first time in an easily readable form which, moreover, contains every textual improvement gained from a collation of the most reliable editions.

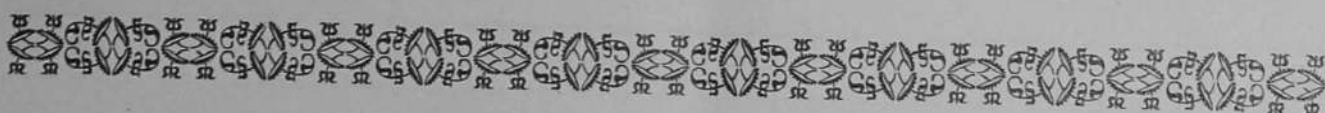
I shall not conclude these lines without expressing deepfelt thanks to my friend, Ḥāfiẓ 'Aṭā' ar-Raḥmān Hoshiārpuri, for his invaluable help throughout the whole of this work, as well as to Maulvi Shafiq ar-Raḥmān, who has assisted me in reading the proofs of the Arabic text. I am also obliged to 'Abd al-Ḥakim Khān, the head-compositor of the Arafat Press, for the careful and loving attention which he paid to the printing of the book.

LAHORE, March, 1938.

MUḤAMMAD ASAD

L

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS



CHAPTER L

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS

CONTAINING 56 SECTIONS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS CHAPTER treats of some of the most prominent Companions of the Prophet, so far as reports concerning their merits or actions reached al-Bukhârî. In order to remove certain misconceptions dating back to the writings of some of the earlier Muslim authors, and since current in the Islâmic literature on this subject, we ought to discuss here in some detail the problem as to who is to be regarded a Companion, and what elements make up this definition.

The primary meaning of the word *ṣāhib* is given in *Lisân al-'Arab* II, 7, as "one who is intimately associated [*mu'āshir*]" (with another); and in Lane IV, 1652, *ṣāhibahu* is explained thus: "He associated, kept company, or consorted with him; . . . (he accompanied him;) he was, or became, his companion, associate, comrade, fellow, friend . . ."

From these references, to which many more from other authoritative sources could be added, it becomes apparent that the term "Companionship", in relation to the Prophet, can be attributed only to those personalities from among the earliest Muslims who were on intimate terms with him and shared his daily life and, in varying degrees, also his thoughts: that is, to those who could be called *friends* in the deepest meaning of this word. But Muslim historians and theologians have, from the third century of the Hijrah onward, begun to enlarge this term in quite an unjustifiable manner, and have included in it every person who, while being a Muslim, saw the Prophet even without nearer association. The reason for this exaggeration was the extraordinary respect which the Prophet's personality commanded; a meeting with him, even if it were for a fleeting moment only, conferred a sort of halo on the person concerned, and induced the later generations to regard such an eye-witness as sanctified above those who had not enjoyed the same privilege, and to treat him as an "associate", or Companion, of the Prophet. This, however, was evidently not the meaning which he himself implied in the term "Companion". That he made a distinction between his Companions and the Muslims who were merely his contemporaries is apparent from the Tradition quoted in sec. 6, No. 13, of this chapter: "Abuse not my companions! For, if any of you were to spend as much gold as Mount Uḥud, he would not attain to [the merit of] a *mudd* of theirs, or even half of it."¹ From other versions of this Tradition² we understand that there was some quarrel between 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf and Khâlid ibn al-Walîd, who abused the former. The Prophet's rebuke shows that at that time he did not yet regard Khâlid as a Companion, although the latter must have seen him daily. It was only later that Khâlid, not by merely seeing the Prophet, but by his brilliant deeds of devotion which earned him the appellation "Sword of God", was received in the Prophet's friendship and became a Companion. On the other hand, 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf was one of the oldest associates of the Prophet, and was described by him as such in the above Tradition. It is quite improbable that in this saying the Prophet had in the first line the

¹ For an explanation of expressions occurring in this Tradition, see p. 35, nn. 4 and 5.

² Cf. Muslim, K. *Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*, B. *Taḥrīm Sabb aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*.

"future generations" in mind, as some well-meaning commentators suggest¹. Apart from the fact that the occasion on which he uttered this saying is historically established, the use of similes of strictly local importance, like "Mt. Uḥud" or "*mudd*", precludes the possibility of its having been intended as a warning for future generations. Had this been the case, the Prophet would have probably used—as he often did—comparisons of a wider connotation, which could have been easily appreciated by people who perhaps never saw the mountains surrounding Madinah and were not necessarily familiar with the local customs prevailing there.

As to the Companions themselves, they were undoubtedly of opinion that not every Muslim who merely saw the Prophet was a *ṣaḥābi*. This is evident, for example, from a Tradition quoted by Ibn Ṣalāḥ in his *Muqaddamah*: Someone asked Anas ibn Mālik: "Is any of the Companions of the Apostle of God still alive beside thee?" Anas answered: "Some Bedouins who saw him are still alive; but of his Companions—none."² This strict differentiation between Companions and Muslims who merely saw the Prophet without intimate association is still clearly visible in the period of the *tābi'ūn* (or successors of the Companions); so the famous *tābi'ī* Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab is reported to have regarded as Companions only those persons who had lived for at least one year in the Prophet's company and had taken part in some of his campaigns.³ This definition is, no doubt, somewhat artificial and schematic, and does not cover the whole ground: for it is imaginable that a man came in contact with the Prophet in the last months of the latter's life, or that he himself died after only a brief association with the Prophet, and nevertheless became a real Companion. But even with this defect, Ibn al-Musayyab's definition is important as an attempt to stem the growing tide of pious exaggeration which elevated everyone who had had the privilege of seeing the Prophet, to the status of a Companion. Ibn al-Musayyab was certainly not isolated in this endeavour. So, e.g., we read in an-Nawawī's commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: "Some Traditionists maintain that this distinction [of Companionship] is limited to those who had kept company with him [i.e., the Prophet] for a long period, have spent [their possessions in his cause], and those who migrated [to Madinah] and actively helped [him]: and not to those who saw him occasionally, as, for example, the deputations of the Bedouins; nor to those who were in his company only after the conquest of Mecca, when Islām had become powerful."⁴ Though an-Nawawī himself hesitates to subscribe to this definition,⁵ it is obvious that it was accepted by many of the early Traditionists, at least in the first two centuries. The more, however, the distance from the Prophet's time increases, the more pronounced becomes the tendency to generalise the term "Companionship". With al-Bukhārī, it applies already to every Muslim who "kept company with the Prophet or saw him".⁶ The forcedness of this definition is evident at the first glance: the use of the co-ordinating particle "or" can hardly bridge the linguistic obstacle arising from the application of the term "Companionship" to a person who never kept company with the Prophet and saw him perhaps only once—as was the case with many of the newly-converted Bedouins who came to Madinah, asked the Prophet a few questions, received his answers, and departed, never to see him again. It is possible, however, that al-Bukhārī, like so many Traditionists before him, uses the appellation "Companion" from two different points of view: the one is the historical point of view, which embraces the real Companions "who kept company with the Prophet", i.e., were intimately associated with him; and the other represents the purely technical usage of the Traditionist. For the

1 See 'Ayni XVI, 188.

2 Ibn Ṣalāḥ, p. 258. The author, one of the most exacting critics of Tradition, has no hesitation in accepting the *isnād* of this Tradition as "sound" (*ṣaḥīḥ*).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 256; *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 2.

4 *Naṣara*; in this term the *Anṣār* and other active "helpers" besides the *Muhājirs* are comprised.

5 Nawawī XVI, 93.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

7 Cf. *tarjumah* of this chapter, p. 17.

muḥaddith, the transmitters of Traditions are ranged in groups according to the period in which they lived. The oldest group, *i.e.*, those persons who have met the Prophet as Muslims and are thus in a position to report Traditions on his authority, are conveniently (and only in this strictly technical sense) described as "Companions"; the degree of their intimacy with the Prophet is not taken into account. This technical usage of the term "Companion" is not objectionable as such; it may, however, lead to a confusion of issues. We have been accustomed to regard the *real* Companions of the Prophet as persons whose trustworthiness is beyond criticism, for they have proved their moral worth and, therefore, their reliability as transmitters of Traditions by the very fact of their intimate association with the Prophet and the trust he reposed in them: his knowledge of the human nature would not have allowed him to consort intimately, and for a long time, with a hypocrite or a weak-minded, shallow person. But the same unquestioning attitude cannot be reasonably postulated with regard to all the personalities whom we may describe as "Companions" merely in the technical sense of the science of Tradition (*i.e.*, as an indication of the period in which they lived); and, therefore, we cannot possibly accept their Traditions without further scrutiny of their individual trustworthiness. But the extension of the term "Companion" to everyone who once met the Prophet often makes the *muḥaddith* forget that he uses this term in the technical sense alone, and leads to a slackening of criticism with regard to the period which requires the strictest criticism, and to errors like that committed by al-Bukhārī in accepting a political Tradition on the authority of so shady a personality as Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam¹.

This too-liberal attitude stands by no means unchallenged in the literature bearing on this subject. From among the older authors after al-Bukhārī, the Andalusian Ibn 'Abd al-Barr², one of the most discerning and dependable compilers of *rijāl*-works, was definitely against the indiscriminate designation as "Companion" of everyone who saw the Prophet. His remarks in this respect are very characteristic and deserve to be quoted:

"Behold, the first thing to which the student and the scholar turn after the Book of God is the *Sunnah* of His Apostle, for it explains the intentions of God such as are implied in His Book. . . And one of the most important elements which help us to understand and to preserve the *Sunnah* is the knowledge of those [personalities] who have transmitted it, on the authority of their Prophet, to the whole world. . . and these are his Companions and his Helpers [*ḥawāriyyūn*] who have remembered this [*Sunnah*] and have transmitted it in good faith. . . These are 'the best generation'³ and 'the best community that has been sent forth to mankind'.⁴ The righteousness of all of them has been confirmed by God's and His Apostle's praise of them. None can be more righteous than he whom God was pleased to make a Companion and Helper of His Prophet, and there can be no purity greater than theirs and no manifestation of righteousness more complete. But this quality [of Companionship] applies only to those who have early accepted his [*i.e.*, the Prophet's] Mission, had faith in him and have strengthened him and helped him and kept company with him: and does not apply to everyone who saw him, nor to everyone who had faith in him. . ."⁵

This excerpt from Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's great work is characteristic of a number of older Muslim scholars. But in the centuries which followed, the "pious" view—namely, that every Muslim who but once saw the Prophet is of his Companions—obtained far larger currency. The logical exploitation of this idea led to innumerable absurdities and serious discussions of "problems" like these: Is a man who only in his earliest infancy saw the Prophet, a Companion or not? Or one who for the first time saw the Prophet after the latter's death (before he was buried)? Are the Jinns and the Angels to be counted among his Companions?⁶ With such fantastic problems otherwise quite

1 Note about him on p. 71, n. 3.

2 368–463 A.H.; see *Tadhkirah* III, 306 ff.

3 Cf. sec. 1, Nos. 2 and 3.

4 Qur'ān iii, 110.

5 *Istī'āb* I, 2.

6 Cf. *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 2 f; 'Aynī XVI, 179.

reasonable scholars busied themselves for a considerable period. Without a thorough revision of this attitude and a return to the oldest standards set up by the Prophet himself and his real Companions, we will be unable to find our way to a sound valuation of Traditions.

But the question as to who is, and who is not, to be regarded a Companion is not merely of technical importance from the point of view of the science of Tradition: it exerts a direct, and not inconsiderable, influence on our attitude towards the ethical and social structure of Islām. On many occasions the Prophet recommended his Companions as an example to the future generations, for it is they who have understood and assimilated his teachings—at least as regards the *nuṣūṣ* and *sunan*—better than anyone else could do. It would be difficult, however, to regard a man like Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam as a shining protagonist of Islāmic virtues, worthy to be imitated; but, according to the standard set up by the majority of later Traditionists, he was a *ṣaḥābī*, because as a child he saw the Prophet! When we, however, limit the designation of Companion to those who were intimate associates of the Prophet, Marwān is automatically excluded, and there remains nothing of him but the memory of an unpleasant personality who had merely had the good luck of having seen the Prophet. And if we accept the definition quoted by an-Nawawī,¹ not even Mu'āwiyah—irrespective of his merits—could be termed "Companion", for he embraced Islām after the conquest of Mecca, when almost all inhabitants of Arabia thought it prudent to do so; though in his case we have the sayings of other Companions, like Ibn 'Abbās, who apparently did regard him as a Companion.² But be it as it may, the Companions to whom the Prophet so often alludes as examples for posterity are undoubtedly to be sought among those men and women who followed him and helped him at a time when profession of Islām was equivalent to sacrifice and personal hardship, and whose support and devotion secured the final triumph of Islām. The selfless grandeur of their lives will for ever remain a symbol of the influence which the personality of the Greatest Man radiated upon his friends and comrades—an influence which transformed and changed the course of their lives, and with them, the destinies of the world.

THE CHAPTER before us is arranged in three main parts. After a sort of "preamble" consisting of three Traditions which deal with the merits of Companions in general, the author brings in the sections 2—33 Traditions on the *Muhājirs*, while the sections 34—51 are devoted to the *Anṣār*; in both portions, the men come first and are followed by the women. The last part (sections 52—56) consists of Traditions on Companions who were neither *Muhājirs* nor *Anṣār*, as, e.g., Khadijah, who died before the *hijrah*, Jarīr ibn 'Abd Allāh, who embraced Islām in the last months of the Prophet's life, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, who himself was not of the *Anṣār* but was associated with them as a *ḥalīf*, etc. Whenever necessary, short biographical sketches of the personalities concerned have been given in the explanatory notes. No such biographies are given of the Companions with whom the student of Islāmic history is already familiar: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Fāṭimah, 'Ā'ishah, Khadijah, and Mu'āwiyah.

Al-Bukhārī's primary object was to show by means of these Traditions the opinion which the Prophet Muḥammad had of his Companions; secondly, to record such actions of theirs as prove their worth and moral status; and, lastly, to show what their contemporaries among the Muslims thought of them. Incidentally, this chapter may help to remove several historical misconceptions relating to the early history of Islām.

1 See above, p. 14.

2 See sec. 31, No. 1. in this chapter.



IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS,
THE DISPENSER OF GRACE

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

L

٥٠

THE MERITS OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS¹

فضائل أصحاب النبي ﷺ

And whoso of the Muslims kept company with the Prophet or saw him, is of his Companions.²

ومن صحب النبي ﷺ أو رآه من المسلمين فهو من أصحابه.

SECTION I

١ باب

- 1 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us: Sufyān related to us, on the authority of 'Amr, who said: I heard Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh say: Abū Sa'id al-Khudri related to us, saying:

THE Apostle of God said: A time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and some will say: Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious. Thereafter a time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and someone will say: Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with the companions of the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious. Thereafter a time will come when a party of the people will go forth to fight, and someone will say: Is there among you anyone who hath kept company with a

١ حدثنا علي بن عبد الله: حدثنا سفيان عن عمرو قال: سمعت جابر بن عبد الله يقول: حدثنا أبو سعيد الخدري قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: يأتي على الناس زمان فيغزو فئام من الناس فيقولون: فيكم من صاحب رسول الله ﷺ؟ فيقولون لهم: نعم؛ فيفتح لهم. ثم يأتي على الناس زمان فيغزو فئام من الناس فيقال: هل فيكم من صاحب أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ؟ فيقولون: نعم؛ فيفتح لهم. ثم يأتي على الناس زمان فيغزو فئام من الناس فيقال: هل فيكم من صاحب من صاحب

1 In all available texts, this chapter is not distinctly treated as a separate entity, although it is obviously one; the *bismillah*, however, which in Bkh generally precedes a new chapter, occurs in all texts, which leads us to the assumption that the author intended it to be a separate chapter. The word *bāb* (section) before the title occurs in most of the texts, but is omitted in that of Abū Dharr al-Hirawī (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, vol. V, 2); I have inserted it after the *tarjumah* to mark the beginning of the first section.

2 Regarding the problem as to who is to be considered a Companion of the Prophet, see Introductory Note to this chapter.

companion of the companions of the Apostle of God? And they will answer: Yea. And they shall be victorious.¹

- 2 Ishâq related to me: An-Naḍr related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of Abû Jamrah: I heard Zahdam ibn Muḍarrib say: I heard 'Imrân ibn Ḥuṣayn say:

THE Apostle of God said: The best of my community is my generation², thereafter those who will follow them, thereafter those who will follow them.³

'Imrân said: And I know not whether he mentioned two or three generations after his [own] generation.

And, behold, after you⁴ there will be people who will testify without being asked to testify⁵; and will betray and will not be trusted; and will make vows and will not fulfil them; and they will grow in opulence.⁶

أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ؟ فيقولون: نعم؛ فيفتح لهم.

٢ حدثني اسحق: حدثنا النضر: أخبرنا شعبة عن أبي جمرة: سمعت زهدم بن مضرب قال: سمعت عمران بن حصين (رض) يقول:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: خير أمتي قرني، ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم.

قال عمران: فلا أدري أذكر بعد قرنه قرنين أو ثلاثاً.

ثم إن بعدكم قوماً يشهدون ولا يستشهدون ويخونون ولا يؤتمنون وينذرون ولا يفون: ويظهر فيهم السمن.

1 This is, of course, not to be taken as a literal prediction, because it sometimes happened even in the early history of Islâm that Muslims suffered defeat in spite of the presence among them of Companions or their successors (*tābi'ūn*). The above saying seems to express the moral superiority of a Muslim force fighting in the name of God and guided by the life-example of the Prophet: their victory and their defeat will both be victory in the moral sense. Cf. in this respect the well-known Tradition: "There will be always, to the Last Day, people from among my community who will remain victorious"; another version adds: "and none of those who forsake them or oppose them will be able to harm them". Both versions are found in Bkh xlix/27, Nos. 2 and 3.

2 The term *qarn* is sometimes erroneously translated as "century"; in reality, it denotes people belonging to the same period or being of equal age (cf. Lane VIII, 2987), that is, a generation.

3 The expression *walā* (from which *yalūnahum* is derived) means "to be next, or adjacent (to another thing)". In the above context, it is generally interpreted as "next in time"; thus it is taken to mean the Companions of the Prophet, their successors (*tābi'ūn*), and the successors of these (*tab' tābi'in*)—an interpretation obviously adopted by the narrator of this Tradition, 'Imrân; for him *walā* is synonymous with "next generation". The primary meaning of this word, however, does not postulate succession in matter of time; it rather suggests nearness in conceptions. Thus, the meaning of the above Tradition appears to be wider than that usually adopted by the older commentators. While it goes without saying that the Companions of the Prophet and their successors were not only in time but also in conceptions nearer to the Prophet than the later generations, the degree of "nearness" to the Prophet and his Companions is not restricted to time, but depends on the degree of following their teachings and their spirit.

4 I.e., after the first three or four generations.

5 Sc., because they are not held trustworthy. The commentators (e.g., *Fath al-Bārī* V, 198) have advanced several laboured explanations of this sentence, but they are not convincing. The only acceptable interpretation appears to be the one given above.

6 Lit., "fatness [*siman* or *saman*] will become apparent among them". The meaning is, that the people of the time thus predicted by the Prophet will extremely care for their material well-being without having any of the virtues required of a Muslim.

- 3 Muḥammad ibn Kathīr related to us: Sufyān informed us, on the authority of Maṣṣūr, on the authority of Ibrāhīm, on the authority of 'Abidāh, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh:

THE Prophet said: The best of people are my generation, thereafter those who will follow them, thereafter those who will follow them. Then will come [such] people that one's testimony will outrun his oath, and one's oath, his testimony.¹

Ibrāhīm said: And while we were small, they² would beat us in matters of testimony and oath.³

SECTION II

THE VIRTUES OF THE MUHĀJIRS⁴ AND THEIR MERIT: OF THESE WAS ABŪ BAKR 'ABD ALLĀH IBN ABĪ QUḤĀFAH AT-TAYMĪ

The Word of God, exalted be He: For the poor emigrants who have been driven from their homes and their possessions, seeking favour from God and [His] pleasure, and help God and His Apostle: these are the sincere.⁵—And He said: If ye help him⁶ not, God hath helped him;—to His Word: Behold, God is with us.⁷—And 'Ā'ishah, Abū Sa'id and Ibn

٣ حدثنا محمد بن كثير: أخبرنا سفيان عن منصور عن ابراهيم عن عبيدة عن عبد الله (رض)

أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَالَ: خَيْرُ النَّاسِ قَرْنِي ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ يَلُونَهُمْ ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ يَلُونَهُمْ؛ ثُمَّ يَجِيءُ قَوْمٌ تَسْبِقُ شَهَادَةُ أَحَدِهِمْ يَمِينُهُ وَيَمِينُهُ شَهَادَتُهُ.

قال ابراهيم: وكانوا يضربونا على الشهادة والعهد ونحن صغار.

٢ باب

مناقب المهاجرين وفضلهم: منهم أبو بكر عبد الله بن أبي قحافة التيمي (رض)

وقول الله تعالى: للفقراء المهاجرين الذين أخرجوا من ديارهم وأموالهم يبتغون فضلا من الله ورضواناً وينصرون الله ورسوله، أولئك هم الصادقون.—وقال: إلا تنصروه فقد نصره الله؛ — إلى قوله: إن الله معنا.— قالت عائشة وأبو سعيد وابن عباس (رض): وكان

1 I.e., they will be careless with regard to their testimony, swearing to more than they can testify, and testifying to matters which exceed the scope of their oath.—For a fuller explanation of this Tradition, see Bkh xlii/9, No. 2.

2 Sc., the parents and teachers.

3 To prevent the misuse of testimonies.

4 The word *hijrah* (going forth, emigration) has several meanings in the Islāmic *shari'ah*: one is the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Madīnah, which inaugurated a new era in the history of Islām; another, more general, meaning is the emigration of Muslims from a place of danger to a place of security, as in the case of the Companions of the Prophet who, in order to escape the persecutions of the Quraysh, migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia; another, the emigration from a place where unbelief reigns to any place under Muslim rule. Wherever the word *muhājir* (emigrant) occurs in a Tradition without any further qualification it refers to those Companions of the Prophet who emigrated with him or shortly after him (that is, before the conquest of Mecca, in 8 A.H.) from Mecca to Madīnah, in order to be able to live freely according to the tenets of Islām. Such emigration, entailing the giving up of home and family relations for the sake of God and His Prophet, was naturally regarded as an action of great merit; and so the designation of *muhājir* had not only a historical connotation, but was also a sign of particular distinction. Regarding the wider, spiritual implications of the term *hijrah*, see Bkh i, No. 1.

5 Qur'ān lix, 8.

6 Sc., the Prophet Muḥammad.

7 Qur'ān ix, 40.

'Abbās said¹: Abū Bakr was with the Prophet in the cave.²

- 1 'Abd Allāh ibn Rajā' related to us: Isrā'il related to us, on the authority of Abū Ishāq, on the authority of al-Barā', who said:

ABŪ BAKR bought of 'Āzib³ a camel-saddle for thirteen *dirhams*; then he said unto 'Āzib: Bid al-Barā'⁴ to carry my saddle for me.—Thereupon ['Āzib] said: Nay, not until thou tell us what ye did, thou and the Prophet, when ye left Mecca⁵ and the idolaters pursued you.

[Abū Bakr] said: We departed from Mecca,⁶ and remained awake

—or: travelled—

throughout that night and the [following] day, till the sun was at its highest. Then I cast my eyes around to see whether there was some shade where we could betake ourselves for refuge: and lo, there was a rock. I went toward it and saw that it had still a little shade. I smoothed the ground and spread on it a bedding for the Prophet and said unto him: Lie down, O Prophet of God! —And the Prophet lay down. Thereupon I went forth to look around for any of the pursuers. And lo, I met a herdsman driving his flock toward the rock, desiring of it that

أبو بكر مع النبي ﷺ في الغار.

١ حدثنا عبد الله بن رجاء: حدثنا إسرائيل عن أبي إسحق عن البراء قال:

«اشترى أبو بكر (رض) من عازب رحلاً بثلاثة عشر درهماً، فقال أبو بكر لعازب: مر البراء فليحمل التي رحلي. — فقال عازب: لا حتى تحدثنا كيف صنعت أنت ورسول الله ﷺ حين خرجتما من مكة والمشركون يطلبونكم.

قال: ارتحلنا من مكة فأحيينا

—أو: سرينا—

ليلتنا ويومنا حتى أظهرنا وقام قائم الظهيرة؛ فرميت ببصرى هل أرى من ظل، فأوى إليه، فاذا صخرة، أتيتها فنظرت بقية ظل لها. فسويته ثم فرشت للنبي ﷺ فيه، ثم قلت له: اضطجع ياني الله! — فاضطجع النبي ﷺ. ثم انطلقت أنظر ما حولى هل أرى من الطلب أحداً؛ فاذا أنا براعى غنم يسوق غنمه إلى الصخرة يريد منها الذي أردنا،

1 The Tradition of 'Ā'ishah referred to is fully quoted in Bkh li/21, No. 9; the Tradition of Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥabbān (see *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 7); and the Tradition of Ibn 'Abbās in Bkh liii, *sūrah* ix, sec. 9, No. 3.

2 When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left Mecca for Madinah, they first hid themselves during three nights in a cave in Mt. Thawr in the vicinity of Mecca, and thence proceeded further, after having procured a guide (cf. Bkh li/21, No. 9). The author mentions this fact here to show the regard in which Abū Bakr was held by his companions for having stood by the Prophet at a time of great danger.

3 'Āzib ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī, father of the narrator al-Barā'.

4 Al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib al-Anṣārī. He was too young to take part in the battle of Badr, but later he witnessed fourteen or fifteen campaigns led by the Prophet personally. He is said to have been the commander of the forces which conquered Ray, in Persia, in 24 A.H. Died 72 A.H. (*Iṣābah* I, 147.)

5 On their *hijrah* to Madinah.

6 Although it might appear that this narrative refers to the actual departure of the two fugitives from Mecca, it refers in reality to events which happened three days later, namely, after their departure from the cave of Mt. Thawr. It is probable that 'Āzib already knew the story of the cave, so Abū Bakr restricted his narrative to events which happened after that.

which we had desired. I asked him: To whom dost thou belong, O boy?—He said: To a man of Quraysh;—he mentioned his name, and I knew him. Then I said: Is there milk in thy flock?—He answered: Yea.—I said: Wilt thou, then, milk [for us]?—He said: Yea.—So I bade him do so, and he tied up a ewe of his flock. Then I bade him clean her udder of dust, and bade him clean his hands. (Thus,—said [Abû Bakr] slapping one of his hands against the other.) He drew a little milk for me. I had already prepared a waterskin for the Prophet, of which the mouth was covered with a piece of cloth; and I poured [some water] into the milk so that it cooled to the bottom, went therewith to the Prophet and found him already awake; and I said: Drink, O Apostle of God!—and he drank until I was satisfied. Thereupon I said: It is time to depart, O Apostle of God!—He said: Yea.—So we departed, those people [still] pursuing us. But none of them perceived us save Surâqah ibn Mâlik ibn Ju'shum¹, riding his mare. I said: This pursuer hath already reached us, O Apostle of God!—But he said: Grieve not: for, behold, God is with us.²

2 Muḥammad ibn Sinân related to us: Hammâm related to us, on the authority of Thâbit, on the authority of Anas,

ON the authority of Abû Bakr, who said: While we were in the cave³, I said unto the Prophet: If any of them had looked down below his feet,⁴ he would have surely seen us.—But he said: What, thinkest thou, O Abû Bakr, could befall twain who have God as the third with them?

فسأله فقلت له: لمن أنت يا غلام؟—فقال: لرجل من قريش،—سماه فعرفته. فقلت: هل في غنمك من لبن؟—قال: نعم.—قلت: فهل أنت حالب لبناء؟—قال: نعم.—فأمرته فاعتقل شاة من غنمه، ثم أمرته أن ينفض ضرعها من الغبار، ثم أمرته أن ينفض كفيه. (فقال: هكذا—ضرب إحدى كفيه بالأخرى.) فحلب لي كشة من لبن. وقد جعلت لرسول الله ﷺ أداة على فمها خرقة، فصبيت على اللبن حتى برد أسفله فانطلقت به إلى النبي ﷺ فوافقته قد استيقظ فقلت: اشرب يا رسول الله!—فشرب حتى رضيت. ثم قلت: قد آن الرحيل يا رسول الله!—قال: بلى.—فارتحلنا والقوم يطلبونا، فلم يدركنا أحد منهم غير سراقه بن مالك ابن جعشم على فرس له، فقلت: هذا الطلب قد لحقنا يا رسول الله!—فقال: لا تحزن، إن الله معنا.

٢ حدثنا محمد بن سنان: حدثنا همام عن ثابت عن أنس

عن أبي بكر (رض) قال: قلت للنبي ﷺ وأنا في الغار: لو أن أحدهم نظر تحت قدميه لأبصرنا.—فقال: ما ظنك يا أبا بكر باثنين الله ثالثهما؟

1 For particulars about this man, who later embraced Islâm, see Bkh li/21, No. 9. There is also described how Surâqah was rendered unable to fulfil his inimical designs regarding the Prophet and Abû Bakr.

2 Cf. Qur'ân ix, 40, which refers to the same incident. In some versions of the *Ṣaḥîḥ*, this Tradition is followed by a short commentary on *sûrah* xvi, 6, erroneously supposed to have been added by al-Bukhârî. It is, however, missing in the most authoritative texts, and thus appears to be a later interpolation (cf. *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 8).

3 See p. 20, n. 2.

4 When the Prophet and Abû Bakr were hiding in the cave, some of the pursuers passed above its mouth without noticing it (cf. Bkh li/21, No. 22).

SECTION III

THE SAYING OF THE PROPHET, CLOSE ALL DOORS
SAVE THE DOOR OF ABŪ BAKR

Ibn 'Abbās related this [Tradition] on the authority of the Prophet.¹

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad related to me: Abū 'Āmir related to us: Fulayḥ related to us, saying: Sālim abu'n-Naḍr related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn Sa'id, on the authority of Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī, who said:

THE Apostle of God addressed the people and said: Behold, God gave one of His servants the choice between this world and that which is with Him; and the servant chose that which is with God.—Thereupon Abū Bakr wept; and we wondered at his weeping over the announcement of the Apostle of God concerning one of God's servants who had been given the choice. But it was the Apostle of God himself who had been given the choice, and Abū Bakr knew it better than we.² Then the Apostle of God said: Behold, of all people, the most generous toward me with regard to his companionship and his property was Abū Bakr. And were I to chose anyone but my Sustainer to be my dearest friend³, indeed I would chose Abū Bakr; but [for him I cherish] Islāmic brotherliness and love. There shall be left open no door in the mosque—save Abū Bakr's door.⁴

باب ٣

قول النبي ﷺ «سدوا الأبواب الا باب
أبي بكر»

قاله ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ.

حدثني عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا أبو عامر: حدثنا
فليح قال: حدثني سالم أبو النضر عن بسر
ابن سعيد عن أبي سعيد الخدري (رض)
قال:

«خطب رسول الله ﷺ الناس وقال: ان
الله خير عبد بين الدنيا وبين ما عنده، فاختار
ذلك العبد ما عند الله. — فبكى أبو بكر،
فعجبنا لبكائه أن يخبر رسول الله ﷺ عن عبد
خير. فكان رسول الله ﷺ هو الخير وكان أبو
بكر أعلمنا. فقال رسول الله ﷺ: ان من
أمن الناس علي في صحبته وماله أبابكر؛ ولو
كنت متخذاً خليلاً غير ربي لاتخذت أبابكر،
ولكن أخوة الاسلام ومودته. لا يبقين في المسجد
باب الا سداً — الا باب أبي بكر.»

1 This Tradition is fully quoted in Bkh viii/80, No. 2.

2 The Prophet spoke the above words at the time of his temporary recovery from his last illness (cf. Bkh viii/80, No. 2, and a Tradition on the authority of Jundub, quoted by Ibn Hajar in *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 9, in which the narrator precedes the same account with the words, "I heard the Prophet say, five nights before his death," etc.). Abū Bakr understood that the Prophet was alluding to his imminent death.

3 The expression *khalīl* denotes the dearest or most sincere friend who has no rival in the love and reliance conferred upon him (see *Lisān al-'Arab* XIII, 230 f). As the Prophet's highest love was reserved for God Himself, he could not entertain for any mortal the same degree of affection and devotion.

4 When the Prophet's Mosque at Madīnah was first built, it occupied a narrow space between houses, some of which had doors opening on it. The house of 'Ā'ishah, in which the Prophet mostly lived (and which to-day is included in the mosque and surmounted by a green dome), also bordered on it; and adjoining to this were the houses of other wives of the Prophet (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 180 f), as well as those of some Companions, e.g., al-'Abbās. All the Companions' houses, with

SECTION IV

THE MERIT OF ABÛ BAKR COMETH NEXT AFTER
THAT OF THE PROPHET

'Abd al-'Azîz ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us:
Sulaymân related to us, on the authority of
Yahyâ ibn Sa'id, on the authority of Nâfi',

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said:
In the time of the Prophet we used to
grade people [according to their merits]; and
we used to give Abû Bakr the precedence,
next to him, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, and next
to him, 'Uthmân ibn 'Affân.¹

SECTION V

THE PROPHET'S SAYING, IF I WERE TO CHOOSE
[ANYONE TO BE] MY DEAREST FRIEND

Abû Sa'id told this [Tradition].²

- 1 Muslim ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Wuhayb
related to us: Ayyûb related to us, on the
authority of 'Ikrimah, on the authority of
Ibn 'Abbâs,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said:
If I were to choose my dearest friend
from among my community, indeed I would
choose Abû Bakr; but [he] is my brother and
my companion.

- 2 Mu'allâ ibn Asad and Mûsâ related to us,
saying: Wuhayb related to us, on the autho-
rity of Ayyûb³ . . . and said:

IF I were to choose my dearest friend, [said
the Prophet,] indeed I would choose him⁴
to be my dearest friend; but Islâmic brother-
liness is the best [that I can give him].

the exception of those of the Prophet's wives and of al-'Abbâs, were later demolished by 'Umar
when he rebuilt and enlarged the mosque, which originally occupied only the space indicated to-
day by the *Rawḍah* (*ibid.*, III/i, 203; IV/i, 13). During the Prophet's last illness, the latter stayed
in 'Ā'ishah's house; as he was troubled by the noise and the frequent passing of people, he order-
ed all doors leading from the houses to the mosque to be closed, with the exception of that of
Abû Bakr, as a special mark of esteem for the old and trusty friend.

1 It is probable that Ibn 'Umar told this Tradition at a time when the Muslims were already
divided in their opinions as to whether 'Uthmân or 'Alî occupied a higher rank. This Tradition is to
be found, in a more explicit form, in sec. 8, No. 3.

2 Reference to the Tradition already quoted in sec. 3.

3 The rest of the *isnâd* is the same as in the preceding Tradition.

4 Sc., Abû Bakr.

باب ٤

فضل أبي بكر بعد النبي ﷺ

حدثنا عبد العزيز بن عبد الله: حدثنا سليمان عن
يحيى بن سعيد عن نافع

عن ابن عمر (رض) قال: كنا نخير بين الناس
في زمن النبي ﷺ فنخير أبا بكر ثم عمر بن
الخطاب ثم عثمان بن عفان (رض).

باب ٥

قول النبي ﷺ «لو كنت متخذاً خليلاً»
قاله أبو سعيد.

١ حدثنا مسلم بن إبراهيم: حدثنا وهيب: حدثنا
أيوب عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس (رض)
عن النبي ﷺ قال: لو كنت متخذاً من أمتي
خليلاً لاتخذت أبا بكر، ولكن أخي وصاحبي.

٢ حدثنا معلى بن أسد وموسى قالا: حدثنا وهيب
عن أيوب . . . وقال:

«لو كنت متخذاً خليلاً لاتخذته خليلاً،
ولكن أخوة الاسلام أفضل.

Qutaybah related to us: 'Abd al-Wahhâb related to us, on the authority of Ayyûb, the same [as above].

- 3 Sulaymân ibn Ḥarb related to us: Hammâd ibn Zayd informed us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Abi Mulaykah, who said:

THE people of Kûfah wrote to Ibn az-Zubayr concerning the grandfather,¹ and he answered: He of whom the Apostle of God said, *If I were to chose my dearest friend from among this community, indeed I would chose him*, (that is, Abû Bakr,) assigned to him² the position of father.³

SECTION VI

- 1 Al-Humaydi and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, saying: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im, on the authority of his father, who said:

A WOMAN came unto the Prophet, and he bade her come again.⁴ She said: What shall I do if I come and find thee not?—as if she were alluding to [his] death.⁵ He said: If thou find me not, go to Abû Bakr.⁶

- 2 Aḥmad ibn Abi Ṭayyib related to me: Ismâ'il ibn Mujâlid related to us: Bayân ibn Bishr related to us, on the authority of Wabarah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, on the authority of Hammâm, who said:

I HEARD 'Ammâr say: I saw the Apostle of God while there was none with him but

حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا عبد الوهاب عن أيوب مثله.

- ٣ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: أخبرنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن عبد الله بن أبي مليكة قال:

«كتب أهل الكوفة إلى ابن الزبير في الجد فقال: أما الذي قال رسول الله ﷺ «لو كنت متخذاً من هذه الأمة خليلاً لاتخذته» أنزله أبا (يعني أبا بكر).»

٦ باب

- ١ حدثنا الحميدى ومحمد بن عبد الله قالا: حدثنا إبراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن محمد بن جبير بن مطعم عن أبيه قال:

«أتت امرأة النبي ﷺ فأمرها أن ترجع إليه؛ قالت: أرايت ان جئت ولم أجدك؟—كانها تقول الموت. قال ﷺ: ان لم تجدني فأني أبا بكر.»

- ٢ حدثني أحمد بن أبي الطيب: حدثنا اسمعيل بن مجالد: حدثنا بيان بن بشر عن وبرة بن عبد الرحمن عن همام قال:

«سمعت عماراً يقول: رأيت رسول الله ﷺ

1 I.e., the position of a grandfather in matters of inheritance.

2 Sc., the grandfather.

3 Abû Bakr, in cases where the father of the deceased died before the latter, assigned to the grandfather the same share in the inheritance as that which is allotted to the father of a deceased. There is, however, difference of opinion among the legists concerning this point (see Bkh lxxii/9).

4 It is nowhere mentioned in the Traditions who the woman was or what the problem was she had brought before the Prophet.

5 It appears that this happened during the Prophet's last illness, and the woman was afraid lest he should die before she came again, and so her matter would remain undecided.

6 Thus, perhaps, the Prophet indicated that after his demise Abû Bakr would guide the Muslims. There are many allusions to this effect both in this work and in other compilations.

five slaves¹, two women², and Abû Bakr³.

- 3 Hishâm ibn 'Ammâr related to us: Ṣadaqah ibn Khâlid related to us: Zayd ibn Wâqid related to us, on the authority of Busr ibn 'Ubayd Allâh, on the authority of 'Ā'idh Allâh abû Idris,

ON the authority of Abu'd-Dardâ', who said: I was sitting with the Prophet, and there came Abû Bakr, lifting the end of his garment,⁴ so that his knees were visible; and the Prophet said: Your friend hath had a quarrel.—[Abû Bakr] greeted [him] and said:

وما معه الا خمسة أعبد وامرأتان وأبو بكر.

٣ حدثنا هشام بن عمار: حدثنا صدقة بن خالد: حدثنا زيد بن واقد عن بسر بن عبيد الله عن عائذ الله أبي ادريس

عن أبي الدرداء (رض) قال: كنت جالساً عند النبي ﷺ إذ أقبل أبو بكر آخذاً بطرف ثوبه حتى أبدى عن ركبته، فقال النبي ﷺ: أما صاحبكم فقد غامر. — فسلم وقال: يا رسول الله!

1 The five slaves were (according to *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 15): (1) Bilâl the Abyssinian (for biographical note see sec. 26). (2) Zayd ibn Hârithah (see sec. 18). (3) 'Āmir ibn Fuhayrah. He was a slave of a Qurayshî, and was maltreated by his master owing to his adherence to the Prophet. Thereupon Abû Bakr bought him and immediately liberated him. When the Prophet and Abû Bakr left Mecca on their *hijrah* and hid themselves for three nights in the cave of Mt. Thawr, 'Āmir came daily to them with his flock of sheep and supplied them with milk, as is narrated in Bkh li/21, No. 9. (He should not be confused with the shepherd mentioned in sec. 2, No. 1, of this chapter.) Later he migrated to Madinah and took part in the battle of Badr. He was killed in one of the later campaigns. (See *Isti'âb* II, 449; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 164 f; Ibn Hishâm I, 160, 195, 292.) (4) Abû Fukayhah or 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir (the narrator of this Tradition); it is uncertain which of the two it was. Abû Fukayhah was a slave of Ṣafwân ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and suffered the same persecution as Bilâl and 'Āmir ibn Fuhayrah, and was also bought and freed by Abû Bakr (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 91). As to 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir, see sec. 22 of this chapter. (5) Probably Ṣâlih ibn 'Adî, called Shuqrân. He was a slave of the Prophet, bought by the latter from 'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn 'Awf; he took part in the battle of Badr, whereupon the Prophet liberated him (*Isti'âb* II, 594; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 34).

2 The first of them was Khadijah. As to the other woman, the reports differ as to whether it was Umm Ayman or Sumayyah. Umm Ayman (whose real name was Barakah) was a slave inherited by the Prophet from his father; she had nursed him in his childhood. He freed her on his marriage with Khadijah, whereupon she married 'Ubayd ibn Zayd and bore him a son, Ayman, who later became a Companion of the Prophet and fell in the battle of Ḥunayn. After her first husband's death she married Zayd ibn Hârithah, the Prophet's freedman, and bore him a son, the subsequently famous Companion, Usâmah ibn Zayd. The Prophet always regarded her as a member of his family. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 162 f). As regards Sumayyah bint Khubbât (or Khayyât), she was a freed slave and the mother of 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir, the narrator of this Tradition. She was the first martyr of Islâm, having been killed in a heinous way by Abû Jahl for the sake of her convictions (*ibid.*, 193). Some commentators assume that the other woman (beside Khadijah) was neither Umm Ayman nor Sumayyah, but the wife of al-'Abbâs (mother of al-Faḍl). Ibn Hajar, however, regards this as extremely improbable (cf. *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 16).

3 In reality, the first Muslim man was 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib, who embraced Islâm shortly after Khadijah; the narrator, however, does not mention him because he was at that time a mere child. In any case, Abû Bakr was the first free-born man who *openly* declared himself a Muslim; and it seems to have been the intention of the narrator to show this fact.

4 —in order to be able to walk quickly. His hurry is also implied in the subsequent words of the Prophet.

O Apostle of God! Behold, there was something between me and Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and I was hasty with him; then I regretted it, and asked of him forgiveness, but he refused it. And so I have come unto thee.—Then [the Prophet] said three times: God will forgive thee, O Abū Bakr!

Thereafter, behold, 'Umar [also] regretted and went to Abū Bakr's house and asked: Is Abū Bakr here?—And they answered: Nay.—So he went to the Prophet and greeted him; but the Prophet's countenance changed so much that Abū Bakr was frightened and threw himself on his knees and said twice: O Apostle of God! By God, it is I who was in the wrong!—Thereupon the Prophet said: Behold, [when] God sent me unto you and ye [all] said, "Thou liest", Abū Bakr said, "He speaketh truth",¹ and helped me with his person and his property. Will ye, then, not let my companion alone?—[And he said this] twice. After this, [Abū Bakr] was not molested again.

- 4 Mu'allā ibn Asad related to us: 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Mukhtār related to us, saying: Khālid al-Hadhādhā related to us, on the authority of Abū 'Uthmān, who said:

'AMR IBN AL-'ĀṢ² related to me that the Prophet sent him in command of the army of Dhāt as-Salāsīl.³ [He said:] And

انه كان بيني وبين ابن الخطاب شيء فأسرعت إليه، ثم ندمت فسألته أن يغفر لي فأبى عليّ، فأقبلت إليك. — فقال: يغفر الله لك يا أبا بكر! ثلاثاً.

ثم ان عمر ندم فأتى منزل أبي بكر فسأل: أأثمّ أبو بكر؟ — فقالوا: لا. — فأتى إلى النبي ﷺ فسلم عليه، فجعل وجه النبي ﷺ يتمعر حتى أشفق أبو بكر فجثا على ركبتيه فقال: يا رسول الله! والله أنا كنت أظلم! — مرتين. فقال النبي ﷺ: إن الله بعثني إليكم فقلتم كذبت، وقال أبو بكر صدق، وواساني بنفسه وماله. فهل أتم تاركوا لي صاحبي؟ — مرتين. فما أودى بعدها.

٤ حدثنا معلى بن أسد: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن المختار قال: خالد الحذاء حدثنا عن أبي عثمان قال:

حدثني عمرو بن العاص (رض) أن النبي ﷺ بعثه على جيش ذات السلاسل. فأتيته فقلت:

1 The perfect diction of the Prophet, which often implied much in a few words, is beautifully illustrated in his saying, "Abū Bakr said, He speaketh truth". The use of the third person in Abū Bakr's saying implies that the latter not only acknowledged the Prophet in his face, but also that in the latter's absence he valiantly defended him before others.

2 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ ibn Wā'il belonged to a prominent clan of Quraysh. He embraced Islām in 8 A.H., about six months before the conquest of Mecca, and came together with Khālid ibn al-Walid to Madinah. Shortly afterwards, the Prophet appointed him commander in the campaign of Dhāt as-Salāsīl, and later made him governor of 'Umān; in this office 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ remained until after the Prophet's death. Under 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb he was governor of Palestine and Transjordan. When Mu'āwiyah was invested with the governorship of the whole of Syria, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ was sent by 'Umar to Egypt, and conquered that country in 20 A.H. He remained its governor during 'Umar's life-time, and was recalled by 'Uthmān four years after 'Umar's death; this was the cause of 'Amr's grudge against 'Uthmān. He later settled in Palestine. After 'Uthmān's death he wholeheartedly supported Mu'āwiyah and took part on his side in the battle of Siffin (37 A.H.). Subsequently, Mu'āwiyah appointed 'Amr governor of Egypt, where he died in 43 A.H. (*Isti'āb* II, 434 ff; *Iṣābah* V, 2 f.)

3 The campaign of Dhāt as-Salāsīl took place in the year 8 A.H. For details see Bkh lii/65.

I came unto him and asked: Which of the people is the dearest unto thee?—He answered: 'Ā'ishah.—Then I said: [But] of the men?—He said: Her father.—And I said: And who next?—He answered: Next, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.—Then he enumerated some [other] men.¹

- 5 Abu'l-Yamān related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf informed me that Abū Hurayrah said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say²: Whilst a herdsman was guarding his flock, a wolf fell upon it and bore a ewe away; and the herdsman pursued it. Then the wolf turned toward him and said: Who will guard this flock on the Day of the Beast of Prey³—on the day when it will have no herdsman but me?

And whilst a man was driving an ox⁴ which he had burdened with a load, it turned toward him and spake unto him, saying: I was not created for this, but was created for ploughing.

The people [who heard this] said: Glory be unto God!⁵—Thereupon the Prophet said: Behold, I believe it,⁶ and [so do] Abū Bakr and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.⁷

أى الناس أحب إليك؟ — قال: عائشة. — فقلت: من الرجال؟ — فقال: أبوها. — فقلت: ثم من؟ — قال: ثم عمر بن الخطاب. — فعد رجالاً.

٥ حدثنا أبو اليمان: أخبرنا شبيب عن الزهري قال: أخبرني أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف أن أبا هريرة (رض) قال:

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: بينما راع في غنمه عدا عليه الذئب فأخذ منها شاة، فطلبه الراعي. فالتفت إليه الذئب فقال: من لها يوم السبع — يوم ليس لها راع غيري؟

وبينا رجل يسوق بقرة قد حمل عليها فالتفتت إليه فكلمته فقالت: انى لم أخلق لهذا، ولكنى خلقت للحرث.

قال الناس: سبحان الله! — فقال النبي ﷺ: فاني أومن بذلك وأبو بكر وعمر بن الخطاب.

1 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ obviously cherished the idea that the Prophet, who had shown him his favour by appointing him to an important command, would name him first among the persons dear to him. But he was utterly mistaken. In another version of the same Tradition, quoted in Bkh lii/65, 'Amr honestly adds the words: "Then I remained silent out of fear that he would put me at the end of them."

2 The two stories quoted in this Tradition are evidently parables, and probably refer to a time to come, when wrong would be rampant in the world and the natural order of things would be upset.

3 Symbolical indication of unjust rule, when the enemies of society would be put in charge of it.

4 The word *baqarah* used in the Arabic text is a generic term denoting any kind of bovine cattle; it is commonly used for the female (cow), but here it obviously denotes an ox or a bullock.

5 They were astonished to hear of talking animals (cf. Bkh xlviii/53, No. 6).—This story, of course, is not to be taken literally, but as an indication of a future time, when the established order of life would be upset and confused.

6 This expression supports the assumption that the parable refers to the future.

7 As is evident from the same Tradition quoted in sec. 7, No. 13, the two were not present at that time. The Prophet apparently so entirely relied on their implicitly believing his words, that he vouched for their belief in their absence. It might be that he had already mentioned the parable

- 6 'Abdân related to us: 'Abd Allāh informed us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Ibn al-Musayyab informed me that he heard Abû Hurayrah say:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whilst asleep, I saw myself at a well on which there was a leathern bucket; and I drew with it as much [water] as God willed. Thereafter Ibn Abi Quḥāfah¹ took it and drew a bucketful or two of water, and there was some weakness in his drawing²; and God will forgive him his weakness. Thereafter it changed into a huge bucket³, and Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb took it: and I never saw the strongest man⁴ draw as 'Umar drew—until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.⁵

- 7 Muḥammad ibn Muqātil related to us: 'Abd Allāh informed us: Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah in-

٦ حدثنا عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله عن يونس عن الزهري قال: أخبرني ابن المسيب سمع أبا هريرة (رض) قال:

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: بينما أنا نائم رأيتني على قليب عليها دلو، فنزعت منها ما شاء الله؛ ثم أخذها ابن أبي حنيفة فنزع منها ذنوباً أو ذنوبين وفي نزعه ضعف، والله يغفر له ضعفه. ثم استحالت غرباً فأخذها ابن الخطاب، فلم أر عبقرياً من الناس ينزع نزع عمر—حتى ضرب الناس بعطن.

٧ حدثنا محمد بن مقاتل: أخبرنا عبد الله: أخبرنا موسى بن عقبة عن سالم بن عبد الله عن

to them, and now he indicated that even people of the discernment of those two accepted the prediction without doubting it.

1 I.e., Abû Bakr.

2 For an explanation see n. 5 below.

3 A *gharb* is a very large leathern bucket used for drawing water from a well by means of a camel or a bullock. When filled, it is generally too heavy to be lifted by a single man.

4 The expression '*abqari*' denotes anything admired for the exceptional skill or strength it exhibits (see Lane V, 1940 f, and also Ibn Jubayr's explanation of this word in sec. 7, No. 4). Hence it means, in this context, an exceptionally strong man.

5 The word '*aṭan*', which occurs in the Arabic text, denotes the abiding-place of camels around, or near, the water; and the sentence ضرب الناس بعطن is used in the Arabic idiom as translated in the above Tradition (cf. Lane V, 2084).

This prophetic dream describes in a symbolical way the rôles of the three personalities with regard to Islām. The life of the Muslim community, symbolised by "water", was first drawn to light by the Prophet ("I drew as much water as God willed"). He was succeeded by Abû Bakr, during whose reign the realm of Islām grew in size: this is expressed by the words, "he drew a bucketful or two of water", contrasted with the *dalw* (small leathern bucket) of the Prophet; but Abû Bakr was able to draw only "one or two bucketful", which indicates the shortness of his reign; and "there was some weakness in his drawing": that is, he was not able fully to consolidate and to pacify the Empire. But this was mainly due to his early death, and not to any shortcoming in him: therefore, "God will forgive him his weakness". Under the reign of 'Umar, however, the Muslim Empire not only immensely grew in size—which is symbolised by the "huge bucket" (*gharb*) of 'Umar, and the Prophet's admiration of his almost superhuman strength and skill—but was also established on solid administrative foundations, so that the Muslims obtained the largest possible measure of security and well-being and could fully utilise the benefits accruing to them ("the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest").—This dream of the Prophet is extremely well authenticated and occurs in several—almost literally identical—versions in this work as well as in other prominent compilations of Traditions.

formed us, on the authority of Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: Whoso traileth his garment out of vanity, God will not look toward him on the Day of Resurrection.¹—Thereupon Abû Bakr said: One end of my garment [always] goeth down if I do not take care of it.—But the Apostle of God said: Behold, thou doest it not [purposely] out of vanity.

Mûsâ said: Then I said to Sâlim²: Did 'Abd Allâh mention "one who traileth his loin-cloth"?—He said: I did not hear him mention anything but "his garment".³

- 8 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: Humayd ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf informed me that Abû Hurayrah said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whoso spendeth aught⁴ in the cause of God, shall [on the Day of Resurrection] be called in from gates

—to wit, of Paradise—:

O servant of God! Here is felicity! And whoso had excelled in prayer⁵ shall be called in from the Gate of Prayer; and whoso had excelled in holy war shall be called in from the Gate of Holy War; and whoso had excelled in alms-giving shall be called in from the Gate of Alms-Giving; and whoso had excelled in fasting shall be called in from the Gate of Fasting and the Gate of Thirst-Quenching⁶.

Thereupon Abû Bakr said: There will be no need [of anything more] for him who is called in from those gates.—And he asked: Will anyone be called in from all of them,

عبد الله بن عمر قال :

قال رسول الله ﷺ: من جر ثوبه خيلاء لم ينظر الله إليه يوم القيامة. — فقال أبو بكر: إن أحد شقي ثوبي يسترخي إلا أن أتعاهد ذلك منه. — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: إنك لست تصنع ذلك خيلاء.

قال موسى: فقلت لسالم: أذكر عبد الله «من جر ازاره»؟ قال: لم أسمعه ذكر إلا «ثوبه».

حدثنا أبو اليان: حدثنا شبيب عن الزهري قال: أخبرني حميد بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف أن أباهريرة قال :

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول : من أنفق زوجين من شيء من الأشياء في سبيل الله دُعِيَ من أبواب

— يعنى الجنة — :

يا عبد الله! هذا خير! فمن كان من أهل الصلاة دعى من باب الصلاة، ومن كان من أهل الجهاد دعى من باب الجهاد، ومن كان من أهل الصدقة دعى من باب الصدقة، ومن كان من أهل الصيام دعى من باب الصيام وباب الريان.

فقال أبو بكر: ما على هذا الذى يدعى من تلك الأبواب من ضرورة. — وقال: هل يدعى منها

1 For an explanation of the (conditional) prohibition of wearing a garment reaching below the ankles, see Bkh lxxv/2.

2 Both Mûsâ and Sâlim are among the transmitters of the above Tradition (cf. *isnâd*).

3 Mûsâ had obviously other variants of the same Tradition in view, which mention the word *izâr* (loincloth) in this connection.

4 Lit., "a pair of things".

5 Lit., "whoso was of the people of prayer" (*ahl aṣ-ṣalâh*). This as well as the subsequently mentioned terms, viz., *ahl al-jihâd*, *ahl aṣ-ṣadaqah*, and *ahl aṣ-ṣiyâm*, merely express the most prominent characteristics of different groups of Believers.

6 Lit., "of him who has quenched his thirst".

O Apostle of God?—[The Prophet] answered: Yea, and I hope thou wilt be of them, O Abū Bakr.

- 9 Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us: Sulaymān ibn Bilāl related to us, on the authority of Hishām ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, on the authority of 'Ā'ishah, the Prophet's wife:

THE Prophet died whilst Abū Bakr was at aṣ-Ṣunḥ¹

—Ismā'il said: To wit, at al-'Āliyah².

And 'Umar kept on saying: The Apostle of God is not dead!

['Ā'ishah] said:

And 'Umar said: By God! My mind would accept naught but this³! And surely God will raise him to life [again], and he will cut off the hands and feet of men⁴!—Thereupon Abū Bakr came, uncovered [the face of] the Prophet, kissed him and said: I would have sacrificed for thee my father and my mother! Thou hast been good in life and in death: And, by God in Whose hand is my soul, never will God let thee taste death twice!⁵—Then he went out and said [to 'Umar]: O thou swearing one, calm thyself.—And when Abū Bakr had thus spoken, 'Umar sat down. Then Abū Bakr praised God and extolled Him, and said: Behold, whoso worshippeth Muḥammad [may know that] Muḥammad hath died; and

كلها أحد يا رسول الله؟ — قال: نعم، وأرجو أن تكون منهم يا أبابكر.

- ٩ حدثنا اسمعيل بن عبد الله: حدثنا سليمان بن بلال عن هشام بن عروة عن عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة (رض) زوج النبي ﷺ

أن رسول الله ﷺ مات وأبو بكر بالسنح

— قال اسمعيل: يعنى بالعالية.

فقام عمر يقول: والله مامات رسول الله ﷺ!

قالت:

وقال عمر: والله! ما كان يقع في نفسي الا ذاك! وليبعثه الله فليقطعن أيدي رجال وأرجلهم!— فجاء أبو بكر فكشف عن رسول الله ﷺ فقبله فقال: بأبي أنت وأمي! طبت حياً وميتاً. والله الذي نفسي بيده لا يذيقك الله الموتين أبداً. — ثم خرج فقال: أيها الخالف! على رسلك. — فلما تكلم أبو بكر جلس عمر. فحمد الله أبو بكر وأثنى عليه وقال: ألامن كان يعبد محمداً فإن محمداً قد مات،

1 A settlement of the clan Banū Hārith, of Khazraj, at al-'Awāli (so called because it is the highest ground in the immediate vicinity of Madīnah); its distance from the centre of Madīnah—the Prophet's Mosque—is a little more than a mile. Abū Bakr was married to a woman of Banū Hārith, and lived there for some time ('Ayni XVI, 185; *Fath al-Bārī* III, 89).

2 Sing. of al-'Awāli (see preceding note).

3 I.e., that the Prophet is not really dead, but will come back to life.

4 Sc., who say that he is dead. The expression "cutting off of hands and feet" denotes, in Arabic usage, the destruction of worldly power and influence. It was incomprehensible to 'Umar that the Prophet, whose personality was so strong a reality in their lives, could ever pass away; but apart from this, 'Umar probably feared that certain malcontents and hypocrites would utilise this occasion for fomenting discord among Muslims. This is supported by 'Ā'ishah's remarks in No. 10 of this section.

5 'Umar, who believed that the Prophet was not dead, wished that God might restore him to life; but Abū Bakr at once understood that Muṣṭafā had really passed away, and expressed his conviction that God would not let him taste the bitterness of death twice.

whoso worshippeth God [may know that] God is Living, and never dieth.¹ And He said: *Behold, thou wilt die, and, behold, they will die.*² And He said: *Muhammad is but an Apostle; all Apostles have passed away before him. Then, if he die or be slain, will ye turn back on your heels? Whoso turneth back on his heels doeth surely no harm to God; and God will reward the thankful.*³

He⁴ said:

And the people sobbed and wept.

He said:

And the *Anṣār* assembled around Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah⁵ in the roofed street of Banū Sā'idah⁶ and said⁷: There shall be a chief from among us and a chief from among you.⁸—Then there went to them Abū Bakr, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāh.⁹ And 'Umar began to speak, but Abū Bakr bade him to be silent. (And [later]

ومن كان يعبد الله فان الله حي لا يموت. وقال: «انك ميت وانهم ميتون». وقال: «وما محمد الا رسول، قد خلت من قبله الرسل. افان مات او قتل انقلبتم على اعقابكم؟ ومن ينقلب على عقبيه فلن يضر الله شيئا، وسيجزي الله الشاكرين.» قال:

فنشج الناس ليكون.
قال:

واجتمعت الأنصار الى سعد بن عبادة في سقيفة بني ساعدة فقالوا: منا أمير ومنكم أمير. — فذهب اليهم أبو بكر وعمر بن الخطاب وأبو عبيدة بن الجراح، فذهب عمر يتكلم فأسكته أبو بكر. (وكان

1 With these magnificent words, in face of the calamity which had befallen them, Abū Bakr gave the proof of his ability of leadership. He alone preserved calmness of judgment at that critical moment; and so he was able to show to the distressed Muslims that the Prophet had been but a medium between God and mankind, and that God's work would survive the death of His Apostle. The expression "worshipped Muhammad" does not imply actual worship, because this was out of question among Muslims. Abū Bakr merely wished to impress upon them that the placing of unlimited reliance on a human being, however exalted, almost amounted to worship; and this should be restricted to God, Who alone is above the changes of life and death.

2 Qur'ān xxxix, 30.

3 *Ibid.*, iii, 144.

4 *Sc.*, one of the transmitters, probably 'Urwah.

5 He was the chief of the Khazraj tribe. For particulars about him, see sec. 48.

6 A *saqifah* is a roof projecting from one house and resting on the wall of the opposite house or houses; thence, a roofed street like the covered bazaars in many oriental cities. The *saqifah* mentioned here was the one in which the clan of Banū Sā'idah, of Khazraj, used to hold their councils ('Aynī XVI, 185).

7 *Sc.*, to the *Muhājirs* (see subsequent note).

8 Confronted by the demise of the Prophet, the Khazraj proposed to divide the authority between themselves and the *Muhājirs*, who were mostly Quraysh. Originally the Khazraj desired that their leader, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah, be elected as Caliph; but when one of them suggested that the *Muhājirs* might object to it, others proposed the above-mentioned division of authority (cf. Ṭabari III, 207 f).

9 When the Prophet expired, some of the most prominent Companions, as 'Alī, Ṭalḥah and az-Zubayr, went to Fāṭimah's house, while Abū Bakr and 'Umar, with other *Muhājirs* and Usayd ibn Ḥudayr—one of the leaders of the Aws tribe—proceeded to the quarter of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, of Aws, because rumours were afloat that some sections of the *Anṣār* were contemplating to have the Caliphate vested in one of their own leaders; and Abū Bakr wished to discuss

'Umar would say: By God, I did not mean to do it¹ but for the reason that I had already prepared a speech which pleased me, and I feared that Abū Bakr would not attain to the same eloquence.) Thereafter Abū Bakr spake: and he spake more eloquently than anyone else. And he said in his speech: We² shall be the chiefs and ye³ the councillors.—Thereupon Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir⁴ said: Nay, by God! we shall not do so! There shall be a chief from among us and a chief from among you!—But Abū Bakr said: Nay, but we shall be the chiefs and ye the councillors.⁵ They⁶ are the most central among the Arabs with regard to their home, and the most prominent with regard to their descent. Therefore, swear allegiance to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb or to Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ.—But 'Umar said: Nay, it is to thee we will swear allegiance, for thou art our master and the best of us, and wert the dearest of us unto the Apostle of God.

And 'Umar took his hand and swore allegiance to him, and thereupon the [other] people swore allegiance to him.⁷—And

عمر يقول: والله ما أردت بذلك إلا أني قد هيأت كلاماً قد أعجبني خشيت أن لا يبلغه أبو بكر. ثم تكلم أبو بكر فتكلم أبلغ الناس فقال في كلامه: نحن الأمراء وأتم الوزراء. — فقال حباب بن المنذر: لا والله! لا نفعل! منا أمير ومنكم أمير! — فقال أبو بكر: لا، ولكننا الأمراء وأتم الوزراء؛ هم أوسط العرب داراً وأعربهم أحساباً. فبايعوا عمر بن الخطاب أو أبا عبيدة بن الجراح. — فقال عمر: بل نبايعك أنت، فأنت سيدنا وخيرنا وأحبنا إلى رسول الله ﷺ.

فأخذ عمر يده فبايعه وبايعه الناس. فقال

this matter with members of the Aws tribe and to secure their co-operation in peacefully deciding it. While they were there the news reached them that the Khazraj had already assembled in the *saqifah* of Banū Sā'idah and were proposing the election of Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah to the Caliphate. Abū Bakr and his companions understood that there was immediate danger of a split between the different groups of Muslims, and so they proceeded to the *saqifah* in order to prevent it. (Cf. Ibn Hishām II, 427, 429.) They were supported by the tribe of Aws, who were afraid lest their old-time rivals, the Khazraj, should gain supremacy (*Faṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 22).

1 I.e., to deliver a speech. This remark of 'Umar was obviously made at a later time, when he narrated to his companions the incident of the *saqifah*.

2 I.e., the Quraysh.

3 I.e., the Anṣār.

4 He was prominent among the Khazraj and esteemed for the wisdom of his counsel; he died during the reign of 'Umar (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 110).

5 Abū Bakr was afraid that if the leadership were vested in the Khazraj, the tribe of Aws—their rivals before the Prophet's advent—would not agree to it, and so disunity would prevail among the Muslim community. By advancing the claim of Quraysh, who had no part in these inter-tribal factions, he avoided the rivalry between the two groups of the Anṣār; and as he could not—for the sake of Muslim unity—concede the claim of Khazraj to a division of power between the Anṣār and the Muhājirs, he proposed that one of the Quraysh should be elected as Caliph, while the Anṣār would take part in the administration as councillors.

6 I.e., the Quraysh.

7 From a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (quoted in *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 23) we learn that after Abū Bakr's speech there was an uproar among the Khazraj. In order to cut short the

someone said: ye have killed Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah!¹—Thereupon 'Umar said: God hath killed him.²

10 T And 'Abd Allāh ibn Sālim said, on the authority of az-Zubaydī: 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim said: My father, al-Qāsim, informed me that 'Ā'ishah said:

THE Prophet raised his eyes and said three times: In the highest company...³

And [al-Qāsim] narrated the [above] Tradition.⁴

[Concluding,] 'Ā'ishah said:

And with everything that was in the speeches of these two⁵ God benefited [the Muslims]. 'Umar indeed terrified the people who were possessed of hypocrisy; and thus God led them back [to the fold].⁶ Thereupon Abū Bakr shewed the people the right way and taught them the duty imposed upon them⁷; and they went away reciting [the

قائل: قتلتم سعد بن عبادة! — فقال عمر: قتله الله.

١٠ وقال عبد الله بن سالم عن الزبيدي: قال عبد الرحمن بن القاسم: أخبرني أبي القاسم أن عائشة (رض) قالت:

«... شخص بصر النبي ﷺ ثم قال: في الرفيق الأعلى... — ثلاثاً.

وقص الحديث.

قالت عائشة:

فما كانت من خطبتهما من خطبة الا نفع الله بها. لقد خوّف عمر الناس وإن فيهم لنفاقاً، فردهم الله بذلك. ثم لقد بصر أبوبكر الناس الهدى وعرفهم الحق الذي عليهم. وخرجوا به يتلون

discussions, 'Umar quickly swore allegiance to Abū Bakr. He was followed by the *Muhājirs* present, as well as by the chiefs of Aws under the leadership of Usayd ibn Ḥudayr (about whom more in sec. 46); and the Khazraj, faced by a strong majority, ultimately consented to do the same. As is evident from Bkh lxxx/51, No. 3, the pledge at the *saqifah* of Banū Sā'idah was restricted to the elders of all groups. On the next morning, 'Umar appealed from the pulpit of the mosque to all Muslims to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr; and this was done. 'Ali, however, refused to acknowledge Abū Bakr until six months later (cf. Bkh lii/40, No. 41; Muslim, *K. al-Jihād, B. Ḥukm al-Fay'*). 'Ali's reluctance was probably due to Fātimah's displeasure with Abū Bakr on account of the latter's refusal to admit her right to inheritance with regard to the property left by the Prophet (see sec. 13, No. 1).

1 I.e., "you have mortally offended him", because he was the candidate for the Caliphate put forward by the Khazraj.

2 I.e., "God has shamed him", for he was about to create dissension among the Muslims by insisting on his own candidature. He had left the assembly in anger before Abū Bakr's election took place, and departed to Hawrān in Syria, never to return (Ibn Sa'd III/ii, 144 f).

3 These were the last words of Muṣṭafā before he expired (cf. Bkh lii/85, No. 8); they refer to the company of the Prophets and the righteous in Paradise.

4 I.e., the story of the Prophet's death, 'Umar's subsequent behaviour, and Abū Bakr's sermon to the mournful Muslims; this version does not contain the story of the *saqifah* (cf. *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 24).

5 I.e., Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

6 There were at Madinah certain hypocrites who would have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of the Prophet's death to break up the perturbed community; but they were cowed by 'Umar's violent attitude, dictated by his deep attachment to the Prophet, and were forced into silence. The subsequent speech of Abū Bakr deeply impressed the Muslims and helped them to regain their mental balance, and the hypocrites were debarred from making mischief.

7 I.e., the duty of upholding Islām and its unity even after the death of its Founder.

verse]: *Muḥammad is but an Apostle; all Apostles have passed before him ... to [the words]: ... the thankful.*¹

- 11 Muḥammad ibn Kathir related to us: Sufyân informed us: Jâmi' ibn Abi Râshid related to us: Abû Ya'la related to us,

ON the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah², who said: I said to my father: Which of the people is the best after the Apostle of God?—He said: Abû Bakr.—I said: And who next?—He said: Next, 'Umar.—And I feared he would say "'Uthmân", [so] I said: And next, thou?—He said: I am but one of the Muslims.³

- 12 Qutaybah ibn Sa'id related to us, on the authority of Mâlik, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Qâsim, on the authority of his father,

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah; she said⁴: We departed with the Apostle of God on one of his journeys, and when we were at al-Baydâ' or Dhât al-Jaysh I lost a necklace, and the Apostle of God halted to have a search made for it; and all people halted with him. But they were nowhere near water, and had no water with them. So the people came to Abû Bakr and said: Dost thou not see what 'Â'ishah hath done? She hath made the Apostle of God halt, and the people with him; and they are nowhere near water, and have no water with them.—Thereupon Abû Bakr came [to me], and the Apostle of God was asleep with his head on my thigh; and he said: Thou hast detained the Apostle of God and the people with him; and they are nowhere near water, and have no water with them.—['Â'ishah] said: Then he rebuked me and said whatever God willed him to say,

«وما محمد الا رسول، قد خلت من قبله الرسل...» الى «... الشاكرين».

١١ حدثنا محمد بن كثير: أخبرنا سفيان: حدثنا جامع بن أبي راشد: حدثنا أبو يعلى عن محمد بن الحنفية قال: قلت لأبي أي الناس خير بعد رسول الله ﷺ؟ قال: أبو بكر. — قلت: ثم من؟ — قال: ثم عمر. — وخشيت أن يقول «عثمان» قلت: ثم أنت؟ — قال: ما أنا إلا رجل من المسلمين.

١٢ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد عن مالك عن عبد الرحمن ابن القاسم عن أبيه عن عائشة (رض) أنها قالت: خرجنا مع رسول الله ﷺ في بعض أسفاره حتى إذا كنا بالبيداء أو بذات الجيش انقطع عقد لي، فأقام رسول الله ﷺ على التماسه وأقام الناس معه، وليسوا على ماء وليس معهم ماء. فأتى الناس أبابكر فقالوا: ألا ترى ما صنعت عائشة؟ أقامت برسول الله ﷺ وبالناس معه، وليسوا على ماء وليس معهم ماء. — فجاء أبو بكر ورسول الله ﷺ واضع رأسه على نخذي قد نام، فقال: حبست رسول الله والناس وليسوا على ماء. — قالت: فعاتبنى وقال ما شاء الله أن يقول وجعل يطعنني

1 Qur'ân iii, 144.

2 He was a son of 'Alî ibn Abi Tâlib and of al-Ḥanafiyyah Khawlah bint Ja'far. During most of his life he was an active opponent of Banû Umayyah. Died in 81 A.H. (Ibn Sa'd V, 66 ff). According to a report quoted in *Tadhkirah* V, 85, he was sixty-five years old at the time of his death; thus, he was born during the Caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.

3 It appears that this conversation took place during the civil wars between 'Alî and Mu'âwiyah.

4 This Tradition is also quoted in Bkh vii/1, No. 1, where the reader will find all explanatory notes relating to it.

and poked my side with his hand; and I dared not move because the Apostle of God reclined on my thigh. And the Apostle of God slept until he awoke in the morning, and there was no water¹. Then God revealed the verse about the ablution with dust², and they performed this ablution. And Usayd ibn al-Hudayr³ said: This is not the first blessing ye have caused, O family of Abū Bakr! —[Continuing,] 'Ā'ishah said: Thereupon we made the camel I had been upon rise, and found the necklace under it.

- 13 Ādam ibn Abī Iyās related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of al-A'mash, who said: I heard Dhakwān relate, on the authority of Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī, who said:

THE Prophet said: Abuse not my companions! For, if any of you were to spend⁴ as much gold as Mount Uhud, he would not attain to [the merit of] a *mudd*⁵ of theirs, or even half of it.

Jarīr, Abd Allāh ibn Dā'ūd, Abū Mu'āwiyah and Muḥādir corroborated him⁶, on the authority of al-A'mash.

- 14 Muḥammad ibn Miskīn abu'l-Ḥasan related to us: Yaḥyā ibn Ḥassān related to us: Sulaymān related to us, on the authority of Sharik ibn Abī Namir, on the authority of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab, who said:

ABŪ MŪSĀ AL-ASH'ARĪ⁷ informed me that he performed his ablution at home and thereafter went out and said: I will keep to the Apostle of God and will remain this [whole] day with him.

[Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab] said:

Then he went to the mosque and asked for the Prophet, and they said: He left, and went in that direction.—[Continuing, Abū Mūsā said:] So I followed in his foot-steps until

بيده في خاصرتي، فلا يمنعني من التحرك إلا مكان رسول الله ﷺ على نخذي. فنام رسول الله ﷺ حتى أصبح على غير ماء. فأنزل الله آية التيمم فتيمموا. فقال أسيد بن الحضير: ما هي بأول بركتكم يا آل أبي بكر! — فقالت عائشة: فبعثنا البعير الذي كنت عليه فوجدنا العقد تحته.

- ١٣ حدثنا آدم بن أبي إياس: حدثنا شعبة عن الأعمش قال: سمعت ذكوان يحدث عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال:

ﷺ قال النبي ﷺ: لا تسبوا أصحابي! فلو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهباً ما بلغ مد أحدهم ولا نصيفه.

تابعه جرير وعبد الله بن داود وأبو معاوية ومحاضر عن الأعمش.

- ١٤ حدثنا محمد بن مسكين أبو الحسن: حدثنا يحيى ابن حسان: حدثنا سليمان عن شريك بن أبي نمر عن سعيد بن المسيب قال:

ﷺ أخبرني أبو موسى الأشعري أنه توضأ في بيته ثم خرج، فقلت: لألزم رسول الله ﷺ ولا كونن معه يومى هذا.

قال:

فجاء المسجد فسأل عن النبي ﷺ فقالوا: خرج ووجه ههنا. — فخرجت على أثره أسأل عنه

1 —wherewith to perform ablutions.

2 The Qur'ān verse referred to is either iv, 43 or v, 6. See also Bkh vii/1.

3 See sec. 46.

4 Sc., by way of charity. The *"Prophet's mudd"* (i.e., that in use at that time in Madinah) was a quarter of a *ṣā'*; and a *ṣā'* is 5½ pints.—The wider implications of this Tradition are discussed in the Introductory Note to this chapter.

6 Reference to the transmitter Shu'bah (see *isnād*).

7 For biographical note, see sec. 30, No. 4.

[I found that] he had entered Bi'r Aris¹. And I sat down at the gate—and the gate was of palm-branches—until the Apostle of God had eased nature² and performed his ablution. Then I went unto him: and lo, he was sitting at the well Aris in the middle of the brim; he had uncovered his legs and kept them hanging into the well. I greeted him, then I went away and sat down at the gate and said: Surely, to-day I shall be the Prophet's door-keeper.—Thereafter Abū Bakr came and pushed the gate; and I asked: Who is it?—He answered: Abū Bakr.—And I said: Wait a while.—Then I went [to the Prophet] and said: O Apostle of God! Abū Bakr is here; he asketh leave to enter.—And he said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—So I went and said to Abū Bakr: Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise.—And Abū Bakr entered and sat down on the right of the Apostle of God on the brim [of the well] and let his feet hang into the well, same as the Prophet had done, and uncovered his legs. Thereafter I returned [to the gate] and sat down. Now, I had left my brother³ [outside]; he was to perform his ablution and to rejoin me. And I said: If God willeth good for such-and-such

—he meant his brother⁴—,

He will bring him here.—And lo, someone was pushing the gate, and I asked: Who is it?—He answered: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.—And I said: Wait a while.—Then I went to the Prophet, greeted him, and said: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is here; he asketh leave to enter.—And he said: Let him enter, and

حتى دخل بئر أريس؛ فجلست عند الباب — وبأبها من جريد — حتى قضى رسول الله ﷺ حاجته فتوضأ. فقممت إليه فإذا هو جالس على بئر أريس وتوسط قفها وكشف عن ساقيه ودلاهما في البئر. فسلمت عليه ثم انصرفت فجلست عند الباب فقلت: لا كون بواب رسول الله ﷺ اليوم. — فجاء أبو بكر فدفعت الباب فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: أبو بكر. — فقلت: على رسلك. — ثم ذهبت فقلت: يا رسول الله! هذا أبو بكر يستأذن. — فقال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة. — فأقبلت حتى قلت لأبي بكر: ادخل ورسول الله ﷺ يبشرك بالجنة. — فدخل أبو بكر فجلس عن يمين رسول الله ﷺ معه في القف ودلى رجله في البئر كما صنع النبي ﷺ وكشف عن ساقيه. ثم رجعت فجلست. وقد تركت أخي يتوضأ ويلحقني، فقلت: ان يرد الله بفلان خيراً — يريد أخاه —

يأت به. — فإذا انسان يحرك الباب فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: عمر بن الخطاب. — فقلت: على رسلك. — ثم جئت إلى رسول الله ﷺ فسلمت عليه فقلت: هذا عمر بن الخطاب يستأذن. — فقال:

1 A garden (and a well of the same name) in Qubā', in the immediate vicinity of Madinah. Once 'Uthmān let the Prophet's ring—which he, like Abū Bakr and 'Umar before him, had worn during his Caliphate—fall into the well in that garden, and it was never recovered (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 165); since then the well is popularly known as *Bi'r al-Khātīm* ("the Well of the Ring").

2 The Prophet used to go for this purpose as far away from Madinah as possible (cf. Abū Dā'ūd, K. *aṭ-Ṭahārah*, No. 1; Nasā'i, K. *aṭ-Ṭahārah*; etc.).

3 Abū Mūsā had two or three brothers, of whom the best-known is Abū Burdah; one of them had obviously accompanied him in his walk to Qubā'.

4 Explanatory remark by the transmitter Ibn al-Musayyab. The incident narrated above led Abū Mūsā to hope that if his brother came now, the Prophet would give him also the tidings of Paradise.

announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—So I went and said to him: Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise.—And he entered and sat down on the brim [of the well] on the left of the Apostle of God, and let his feet hang into the well. Thereafter I returned [to the gate], sat down and said: If God willeth good for such-and-such, He will bring him here.—And someone came and moved the gate, and I asked: Who is it?—He answered: 'Uthmân ibn 'Affân.—And I said: Wait a while.—Then I went to the Apostle of God and informed him; and he said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise after a calamity which is to befall him.—So I went and said to him: Enter, and the Apostle of God announceth to thee [that thou wilt gain] Paradise after a calamity which is to befall thee.—And he entered, and found the brim already occupied¹; so he sat down facing him² from the opposite side.

Sharîk said: Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab said: And I interpreted this as [the position of] their graves.³

- 15 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Yahyâ related to us, on the authority of Sa'id, on the authority of Qatâdah, that Anas ibn Mâlik related to them:

THE Prophet ascended Mount Uhud with Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân, and it trembled beneath them. And he said: Be steady, Uhud! For, behold, upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth⁴, and two martyrs.⁵

- 16 Aḥmad ibn Sa'id abû 'Abd Allâh related to

أئذن له وبشره بالجنة. — فجئت فقلت له: ادخل وبشرك رسول الله ﷺ بالجنة. — فدخل فجلس مع رسول الله ﷺ في القف عن يساره ودلى رجله في البئر. ثم رجعت فجلست فقلت: ان يرد الله بفلان خيراً يأت به. — فجاء انسان يحرك الباب فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: عثمان بن عفان. — فقلت: على رسلك. — فجئت الى رسول الله ﷺ فأخبرته فقال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة على بلوى تصيبه. — فجئته فقلت له: ادخل وبشرك رسول الله ﷺ بالجنة على بلوى تصيبك. — فدخل فوجد القف قد ملئ، فجلس وجاهه من الشق الآخر.

قال شريك: قال سعيد بن المسيب: فأولتها قبورهم.

- ١٥ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا يحيى عن سعيد عن قتادة أن أنس بن مالك (رض) حدثهم

أن النبي ﷺ صعد أحداً وأبو بكر وعمر وعثمان، فرجف بهم. فقال: اثبت أحد! فانما عليك نبي وصديق وشهيدان.

- ١٦ حدثنا أحمد بن سعيد أبو عبد الله: حدثنا

1 I.e., occupied on both sides of the Prophet.

2 Sc., the Prophet.

3 Abû Bakr and 'Umar are buried by the side of the Prophet in what was originally 'Â'ishah's house, while the grave of 'Uthmân is at some distance, namely, in the cemetery al-Baqi'. This "interpretation" of Ibn al-Musayyab is not of great value, for it was made *post factum*: he was born four (or, according to others, eight) years after 'Umar's accession to the Caliphate and died at the age of seventy-two or eighty-four (Ibn Sa'd V, 88): thus, 'Uthmân's death occurred when he was almost a boy.

4 *Ṣiddiq* ("the Truthful"), the epithet of Abû Bakr.

5 'Umar and 'Uthmân are regarded as martyrs because they were murdered.

us: Wahb ibn Jarīr related to us: Ṣakhr related to us, on the authority of Nāfi', that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar said:

THE Apostle of God said¹: Whilst I was at a well, drawing [water] from it, there came to me Abū Bakr and 'Umar. And Abū Bakr took the leathern bucket and drew a bucketful or two, but there was some weakness in his drawing; and God will forgive him. Thereafter Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb took it from the hand of Abū Bakr, and it changed in his hand into a huge bucket: and I never saw the strongest man do a deed like his. And he drew [water] until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.

Wahb said: *Al-'aṭan*² is the resting-place of camels.

[The narrator] saith: *Until the camels drank their fill and then lay down.*³

- 17 Al-Walid ibn Ṣāliḥ related to us: 'Isā ibn Yūnus related to us: 'Umar ibn Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Husayn al-Makki related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abi Mulaykah,

ON the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Behold, I was standing among the people who were praying for 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb after he had been laid on his bed.⁴ Suddenly a man from behind put his elbow on my shoulder, saying [to the dead man]: May God have mercy upon thee! Behold, I was indeed hoping that God would place thee beside thy two companions⁵, for often have I heard the Apostle of God say, "I was with Abū Bakr and 'Umar", "I did [such-and-such thing] with Abū Bakr and 'Umar", "I went with Abū Bakr and 'Umar"; and therefore indeed I hoped that God would place thee beside them.—Thereupon I turned round and lo, it was 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib.

- 18 Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Kūfi related to us: Al-Walid related to us, on the authority of

وهب بن جرير: حدثنا صخر عن نافع أن عبد الله ابن عمر (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: بينما أنا على بئر أنزع منها جاءني أبو بكر وعمر. فأخذ أبو بكر الدلو فنزع ذنوباً أو ذنوبين وفي نزعته ضعف، والله يغفر له. ثم أخذها ابن الخطاب من يد أبي بكر فاستحالت في يده غرباً، فلم أر عبقرياً من الناس يفري فريه، فنزع حتى ضرب الناس بعطن.

قال وهب: العطن مبرك الابل.

يقول: حتى رويت الابل فأناخت.

- ١٧ حدثنا الوليد بن صالح: حدثنا عيسى بن يونس: حدثنا عمر بن سعيد بن أبي الحسين المكي عن ابن أبي مليكة

عن ابن عباس قال: إني لواقف في قوم فدعوا الله لعمر بن الخطاب وقد وضع على سريرته، إذا رجل من خلفي قد وضع مرفقه على منكبي يقول: رحمك الله! إن كنت لأرجو أن يجعلك الله مع صاحبك لأنني كثيراً مما كنت أسمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول «كنت وأبو بكر وعمر» و«فعلت وأبو بكر وعمر» و«انطلقت وأبو بكر وعمر»، فإن كنت لأرجو أن يجعلك الله معهم. — فالتفت: فإذا هو علي بن أبي طالب.

- ١٨ حدثنا محمد بن يزيد الكوفي: حدثنا الوليد عن

1 For a full explanation of this dream of the Prophet, see No. 6 of this section.

2 The last word of the above Tradition. See p. 28, n. 5.

3 Thus the transmitter explains the sentence ضرب الناس بعطن.

4 —after his death.

5 I.e., the Prophet and Abū Bakr; an allusion to 'Umar's burial in the *hujrah* of the Prophet.

al-Awzâ'i, on the authority of Yahyâ ibn Abi Kathîr, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr, who said:

I ASKED 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr about the worst that the idolaters had done unto the Apostle of God.¹ He said: I saw 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt² come to the Prophet while he was praying, put his wrap around his neck and throttle him strongly therewith. Thereupon Abû Bakr came and pushed him away from the Prophet, and said: *Will ye kill a man because he saith, My Sustainer is God,—when he hath already brought you clear signs from your Sustainer?*³

SECTION VII

THE VIRTUES OF 'UMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬÂB ABÛ ḤAFṢ AL-QURASHÎ AL-'ADAWÎ

- 1 Hajjâj ibn Minhâl related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn al-Mâjishûn related to us: Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir related to us, on the authority of Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh, who said:

THE Prophet said: I saw myself [in a dream] enter Paradise, and lo, I met ar-Rumaysâ', the wife of Abû Ṭalhah.⁴ Then I heard the sound of footsteps and asked: Who is it?—[Someone] answered: It is Bilâl.—Then I saw a palace, and by its side there was a girl; and I said: Whose is this?—[Someone] answered:

الأوزاعي عن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن محمد ابن ابراهيم عن عروة بن الزبير قال:

سألت عبد الله بن عمرو عن أشد ما صنع المشركون برسول الله ﷺ. قال: رأيت عقبة بن أبي معيط جاء الى النبي ﷺ وهو يصلي فوضع رداءه في عنقه فخقه به خنقاً شديداً. فجاء أبو بكر حتى دفعه عنه فقال: «أتقتلون رجلاً أن يقول ربي الله — وقد جاءكم بالبينات من ربكم؟»

٧ باب

مناقب عمر بن الخطاب أبي حفص القرشي العدوي (رض)

١ حدثنا حجاج بن منهال: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن الماجشون: حدثنا محمد بن المنكدر عن جابر ابن عبد الله (رض) قال:
ﷺ قال النبي ﷺ: رأيتني دخلت الجنة فإذا أنا بالرميصاء امرأة أبي طلحة. وسمعت خشقة فقلت: من هذا؟ — فقال: هذا بلال. — ورأيت قصرًا بفنائها جارية فقلت: لمن هذا؟ — فقال:

1 Sc., before his emigration to Madinah.

2 He was one of the most implacable enemies of the Prophet. For details about him see Bkh li/5, No. 5.

3 Qur'an xl, 28.

4 Her real name was, according to some authorities, Rumaylah, and according to others, Sahlah; she was also called Umm Sulaym. Her first husband was Mâlik ibn an-Naḍr, and she bore him Anas, the famous Companion of the Prophet. She embraced Islâm at an early period, while her husband remained an unbeliever. After his death, Abû Ṭalhah wished to marry her, but she refused because he was an idolater. When he, however, embraced Islâm, she readily consented to marry him and regarded his conversion as her only dowry. Later she witnessed personally several of the Prophet's campaigns and in the midst of the fight attended to the wounded and gave water to the warriors; on these occasions she used to go armed with a dagger in order to be able to fight if necessary. In such a way she took part in the battle of Hunayn, while she was pregnant in the seventh month. The Prophet extolled her merits and her sincere devotion to Islâm on many occasions. (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 310 ff.)

'Umar's.—And I wanted to enter and see it, but I remembered thy jealousy [O 'Umar].—Thereupon 'Umar said: I would sacrifice for thee my father and my mother, O Apostle of God! Could I of thee be jealous?

- 2 Sa'id ibn Abi Maryam related to us: Al-Layth informed us, saying: 'Uqayl related to me, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab informed me that Abû Hurayrah said:

WHILST we were with the Apostle of God, he said: Whilst asleep, I saw myself in Paradise; and lo, there was a woman performing her ablution by the side of a palace. And I asked: Whose is this palace?—They answered: 'Umar's.—Then I remembered his jealousy, and turned back and went away.—Thereupon 'Umar wept and said: Could I of thee be jealous, O Apostle of God?

- 3 Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣalt abû Ja'far al-Kûfî related to me: Ibn al-Mubâarak related to us, on the authority of Yûnus, on the authority of az-Zuhri: Hamzah informed me, on the authority of his father ['Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar]:

THE Apostle of God said: Whilst asleep, [I dreamed that] I drank milk until I saw the liquid run over my finger-nail¹

—or: finger-nails—.

Then I handed it to 'Umar.—[The Companions] said: And how didst thou interpret it, O Apostle of God?—He answered: [As] knowledge².

- 4 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Numayr related to us: Muḥammad ibn Bishr related to us: 'Ubayd Allâh related to us, saying: Abû Bakr ibn Sâlim related to me, on the authority of Sâlim, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar:

لعمري. — فأردت أن أدخله فأنظر اليه، فذكرت غيرتك. — فقال عمر: بأبي وأمي يا رسول الله! أعليك أغار؟

- ٢ حدثنا سعيد بن أبي مرزوق: أخبرنا الليث قال: حدثني عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرني سعيد ابن المسيب أن أبا هريرة (رض) قال:

بينما نحن عند رسول الله ﷺ إذ قال: بينا أنا نائم رأيتني في الجنة فإذا امرأة تتوضأ إلى جانب قصر؛ فقلت: لمن هذا القصر؟ — فقالوا: لعمري. — فذكرت غيرته فوليت مدبراً. — فبكي عمر وقال: أعليك أغار يا رسول الله؟

- ٣ حدثني محمد بن الصلت أبو جعفر الكوفي: حدثنا ابن المبارك عن يونس عن الزهري: أخبرني حمزة عن أبيه

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: بينا أنا نائم شربت — يعني اللبن — حتى أنظر إلى الري يجري في ظفري

— أو: في أظفاري —.

ثم ناولت عمر. — قالوا: فما أولته يا رسول الله؟ — قال: العلم.

- ٤ حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله بن نمير: حدثنا محمد بن بشر: حدثنا عبيد الله قال: حدثني أبو بكر بن سالم عن سالم عن عبد الله بن عمر (رض)

1 This little observation shows how vivid the dream was.

2 Ibn Hajar says (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 35): "The reason of this interpretation is, that milk and knowledge have the abundance of benefit in common: milk as food for the body, and knowledge as food for the intellect."—Thus the Prophet intimated that next to him as regards knowledge was 'Umar, particularly with regard to his deep understanding of religion and statecraft.

THE Prophet said¹: I saw myself in dream drawing water from a well with a leathern bucket on a wooden pulley. Then Abū Bakr came and drew a bucketful or two, drawing weakly; and God will forgive him. Thereupon came 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and [the small bucket] changed into a huge bucket: and I never saw the strongest man do a deed like his—until the people's camels satisfied their thirst and then abode at rest.

Ibn Jubayr said: *Al-'abqari*² are, [for example,] the most excellent *zarābi*.³—And Yaḥyā said: *Az-zarābi* are carpets with a fine, abundant fringe.

- 5 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh related to us: Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Ṣāliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd informed me that Muḥammad ibn Sa'd informed him that his father said:—

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh related to me: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of Ṣāliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, on the authority of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Zayd, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, on the authority of his father, who said:

'UMAR ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked leave to see the Apostle of God while there were with the latter some women of Quraysh, who were speaking to him and were raising their voices above his voice. And when 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asked leave to enter, they rose and went behind a curtain. Then the Apostle of God gave him leave, and 'Umar entered; and the Apostle of God was

أَبْنُ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ قَالَ: أَرَيْتَ فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنِّي أَنْزَعُ بَدَلُو بَكْرَةً عَلَى قَلِيبٍ. فَجَاءَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ فَزَنَعَ ذَنْوَبًا أَوْ ذَنْوَيْنِ نَزْعًا ضَعِيفًا، وَاللَّهُ يَغْفِرُ لَهُ. ثُمَّ جَاءَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ فَاسْتَحَالَتْ غَرَبًا: فَلَمْ أَرِ عَبْقَرِيًّا يَفْرِي فَرِيهِ—حَتَّى رَوَى النَّاسُ وَضَرَبُوا بَعْطَنَ.

قال ابن جبير: العبقري عتاق الزرابي. — وقال يحيى: الزرابي الطنافس لها خمل رقيق مبثوثة.

حدثنا علي بن عبد الله: حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم قال: حدثني أبي عن صالح عن ابن شهاب: أخبرني عبد الحميد أن محمد بن سعد أخبره أن أباه قال: —

حدثني عبد العزيز بن عبد الله: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن صالح عن ابن شهاب عن عبد الحميد ابن عبد الرحمن بن زيد عن محمد بن سعد بن أبي وقاص عن أبيه قال:

استأذن عمر بن الخطاب على رسول الله ﷺ وعنده نسوة من قریش يكلمنه ويستكثرنه عالية أصواتهن على صوته. فلما استأذن عمر بن الخطاب قمن فبادرن الحجاب. فأذن له رسول الله ﷺ فدخل عمر ورسول الله ﷺ يضحك.

1 For a full explanation of this Tradition, see sec. 6, No. 6, and nn.

2 The word occurring towards the end of the Tradition, here translated as the "strongest man".

3 As has already been explained (p. 28, n. 4), the word *'abqari* denotes anything admirable on account of its skilful construction or strength. The author quotes here these words of the *tābi'i* Ibn Jubayr in order to illustrate the meaning of *'abqari*. *Zarābi* were highly admired carpets of fine workmanship, of the fabric of al-Ḥīrah (cf. Lane III, 1224).—In some texts, e.g., that of Abū Dharr (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, vol. V, 10), the name of the explainer is not Ibn Jubayr but Ibn Numayr; according to al-Kirmānī (cf. 'Aynī XVI, 194), this is more probable, because Ibn Numayr, one of the *shaykhs* of al-Bukhārī, is among the transmitters of this Tradition.

4 The author has two independent *isnāds* for this Tradition and quotes them one after the other.

laughing. Thereupon 'Umar said: May God keep thee laughing all thy life, O Apostle of God!—The Prophet said: I wonder at these [women] who were with me and, upon hearing thy voice, went behind the curtain.—'Umar said: But it is more fit that they should fear thee, O Apostle of God!—Thereupon he addressed [the women]: O ye enemies of yourselves! Do ye fear me, and fear not the Apostle of God?—They answered: Yea; thou art sterner and harder than the Apostle of God.—And the Apostle of God said: This is true, O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! By Him in Whose hand is my soul! If Satan would encounter thee in some way, he would certainly take a way different from thine!

- 6 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā related to us: Yaḥyā related to us, on the authority of Ismā'il: Qays related to us, saying: 'Abd Allāh said:

WE continuously grew in power since 'Umar embraced Islām.¹

- 7 'Abdān related to us: 'Abd Allāh informed us: 'Umar ibn Sa'īd related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abi Mulaykah, that

HE heard Ibn 'Abbās say: 'Umar had been laid on his bed,² and the people surrounded him, invoking God and praying before he was taken away [to be buried], and I was among them. Upon a sudden a man gripped my shoulder: and lo, it was 'Alī. And he invoked God's mercy upon 'Umar and said: Thou didst not leave behind thee any-

فقال عمر: أضحك الله سنك يا رسول الله! — فقال النبي ﷺ: عجبت من هؤلاء اللاتي كن عندي فلما سمعن صوتك ابتدرن الحجاب. — فقال عمر: فأنت أحق أن يهين يا رسول الله! — ثم قال عمر: يا عدوات أنفسهن! أتهينني ولا تهين رسول الله ﷺ؟ — فقلن: نعم، أنت أفظ وأغلظ من رسول الله ﷺ. — فقال رسول الله ﷺ: ايها يا ابن الخطاب! والذي نفسي بيده ما لقيك الشيطان سالكا فجا قط الا سلك فجا غير فحك.

- ٦ حدثنا محمد بن المثنى: حدثنا يحيى عن اسمعيل: حدثنا قيس قال: قال عبد الله:

﴿ما زلنا أعزة منذ أسلم عمر.﴾

- ٧ حدثنا عبدان: أخبرنا عبد الله: حدثنا عمر بن سعيد عن ابن أبي مليكة

﴿أنه سمع ابن عباس يقول: وضع عمر على سريره فتكفنه الناس يدعون ويصلون قبل أن يرفع وأنا فيهم. فلم يرعنى الا رجل آخذ منكبي فاذا على. فترحم على عمر وقال: ما خلفت أحدا﴾

1 'Umar's conversion was a turning point in the fortunes of Islām. The addition of this strong personality greatly increased the prestige of the small community; this is shown in a Tradition on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd (*Faḥ al-Bārī* VII, 37): "'Umar's [acceptance of] Islām meant power, his migration [to Madinah], victory, and his Caliphate, grace [of God]. By God, we were not able to pray before the Ka'bah until 'Umar embraced Islām." Similar Traditions are recorded in Ibn Sa'd III/i, 193. It is also authentically reported that the Prophet once prayed to God that He help Islām by causing 'Umar's conversion (see Tirmidhī, *B. Manāqib 'Umar; Mustadrak* III, 83; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 192; Ibn Hishām I, 212). A day later, in Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, in the sixth year of Muḥammad's Prophethood, 'Umar embraced Islām; he was then twenty-six years old. The dramatic story of his conversion and the reaction the Quraysh thereupon show that the latter regarded this conversion as a severe blow to their prestige (cf. Ibn Sa'd III/i, 191 ff; Ibn Hishām I, 210 ff). From that day onward, the influence of the Muslim community grew without interruption until it reached its summit in the majestic empire created by 'Umar.

2 Sc., after his death.

one whose deeds were better than thine; and I would prefer to meet God with deeds like thine [to my credit]¹ than with those of anyone else. And on God do I take my oath that I have indeed thought that God would place thee beside thy two companions²; for often have I heard the Prophet say, "I went together with Abû Bakr and 'Umar", "I entered together with Abû Bakr and 'Umar", "I left together with Abû Bakr and 'Umar".

- 8 Musaddad related to us: Yazîd ibn Zuray' related to us: Sa'id related to us:—

And³ Khalifah told me: Muḥammad ibn Sawâ' and Kahmas ibn al-Minhâl related to us, saying: Sa'id related to us, on the authority of Qatadah, on the authority of Anas ibn Mâlik, who said:

THE Prophet ascended Mount Uḥud, and with him were Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân; and [the mountain] trembled beneath them. And the Prophet struck it with his foot, saying: Be steady, Uḥud, for upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth, and a martyr⁴.

- 9 Yahyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: 'Umar—that is, Ibn Muḥammad—related to me that Zayd ibn Aslam related to him,

ON the authority of his father [Aslam⁵], who said: Ibn 'Umar asked me about some of his—that is, 'Umar's—deeds, and I informed him [about them]. Then he said: I never saw anyone, since the Apostle of God passed away, who was more zealous and more generous until the end than 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.

- 10 Sulaymân ibn Harb related to us: Hammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Thâbit,

أحب إلي أن ألقى الله بمثل عمله منك؛ وإيم الله إن كنت لأظن أن يجعلك الله مع صاحبيك، وحسبت أني كنت كثيراً أسمع النبي ﷺ يقول «ذهب أنا وأبو بكر وعمر» و«دخلت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر» و«خرجت أنا وأبو بكر وعمر».

- ٨ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يزيد بن زريع: حدثنا سعيد: —

وقال لي خليفة: حدثنا محمد بن سواء وكهيمس ابن المنهال قالا: حدثنا سعيد عن قتادة عن أنس ابن مالك (رض) قال:

«صعد النبي ﷺ إلى أحد ومعه أبو بكر وعمر وعثمان فرجف بهم. فضربه برجله قال: اثبت أحد، فما عليك إلا بني أو صديق أو شهيد».

- ٩ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثني ابن وهب قال: حدثني عمر — هو ابن محمد — أن زيد ابن أسلم حدثه

عن أبيه قال: سألتني ابن عمر عن بعض شأنه — يعني عمر — فأخبرته. فقال: ما رأيت أحداً قط بعد رسول الله ﷺ من حين قبض كان أجداً وأجود حتى انتهى من عمر بن الخطاب.

- ١٠ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا حماد بن زيد عن ثابت عن أنس (رض)

1 This is the meaning. The construction of this sentence, in Arabic, does not permit a literal rendering into English.

2 I.e., the Prophet and Abû Bakr.

3 The word "and" indicates a *tahwîl* ("transfer") to a second *isnâd*.

4 In reality, there were two martyrs, 'Umar and 'Uthmân (because both were assassinated); the singular form *shahîd* stands here as a *nomen generis*.

5 He was 'Umar's freedman (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 38).

ON the authority of Anas: A man asked the Prophet about the Last Hour, and said: When will the Last Hour be?—[The Prophet] said: And what didst thou prepare for it?—He answered: Naught, save my love of God and His Apostle.—Then [the Prophet] said: Thou [shalt be] with those whom thou lovest.

Anas said: And we never felt joy so great as our joy about the Prophet's saying, "Thou wilt be with those whom thou lovest".

Anas said: As for me, I love the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and I hope that for the sake of my love for them I shall be with them, although I did not do aught comparable to their deeds.

- 11 Yahyā ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of Abū Salamah, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: There were, in the nations before you, inspired¹ people; and if there is any [of them] in my community, it is 'Umar.

- 12 T Zakariyyā ibn Abi Zā'idah [told the same Tradition], with some additions, on the authority of Sa'd, on the authority of Abū Salamah, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, who said:

THE Prophet said: There were, among the Banū Isrā'il before you, men who were inspired² without being prophets; and if there is any of them in my community, it is 'Umar.

- 13 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf related to us: Al-Layth related to us: 'Uqayl related to us, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, on the authority of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, both of whom said: We heard Abū Hurayrah say:

THE Apostle of God said³: Whilst a herdsman was guarding his flock, a wolf fell

عن رجل سأل النبي ﷺ عن الساعة فقال: متى الساعة؟ قال: وماذا أعددت لها؟ قال: لا شيء إلا أني أحب الله ورسوله ﷺ. فقال: أنت مع من أحببت.

قال أنس: فما فرحنا بشيء فرحنا بقول النبي ﷺ «أنت مع من أحببت».

قال أنس: فأنا أحب النبي ﷺ وأبا بكر وعمر وأرجو أن أكون معهم بحبي إياهم وإن لم أعمل بمثل أعمالهم.

- 11 حدثنا يحيى بن قزعة: حدثنا إبراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة (رض) قال:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: لقد كان فيما قبلكم من الأمم محدثون، فإن يكن في أمتي أحد فانه عمر.

- 12 زاد زكريا ابن أبي زائدة عن سعد عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة قال:

قال النبي ﷺ: لقد كان فيمن كان قبلكم من بني إسرائيل رجال يكلّمون من غير أن يكونوا أنبياء، فإن يكن من أمتي منهم أحد فعمّر.

- 13 حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف: حدثنا الليث: حدثنا عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب وأبي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن قالا: سمعنا أبا هريرة (رض) يقول:

قال رسول الله ﷺ: بينما راع في غنمه عد الذئب

1 Lit., "who were spoken to" (*muḥaddathūn*), i.e., inspired. There is a Tradition: "God has put truth on the tongue of 'Umar and into his heart" (see Tirmidhī, *B. Manāqib 'Umar*).

2 The Arabic verb is *yukallamūn* ("spoken to"); the meaning is the same as *muḥaddathūn* (see preceding note).

3 For an explanation of this parable, see sec. 6, No. 5, and nn.

upon it and bore a ewe away; and [the herdsman] pursued it and took it back. Then the wolf turned to him and said: Who will guard this flock on the Day of the Beast of Prey, when it will have no herdsman but me?

And the people [who heard this] said: Glory be unto God!—Then the Prophet said: Verily, I believe it, and [so do] Abū Bakr and 'Umar.—And Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not present [at that time].

- 14 Yaḥyâ ibn Bukayr related to us: Al-Layth related to us, on the authority of 'Uqayl, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, who said: Abū Umâmah ibn Sahl ibn Ḥunayf informed me, on the authority of Abū Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: Whilst asleep I beheld people presented to me, and they wore shirts: and some of these reached to the breasts, and some reached below that. And 'Umar was presented to me: and he wore a trailing shirt.—The [Companions] asked: And how didst thou interpret it, O Apostle of God?—He answered: [As strength of] faith.¹

- 15 Aṣ-Ṣalt ibn Muḥammad related to us: Is-mâ'il ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Ayyûb related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abî Mulaykah, on the authority of al-Miswar ibn Makhramah, who said:

WHEN 'Umar was stabbed, he suffered much; so Ibn 'Abbâs said, as if consoling him: O Commander of the Faithful! Even if this be so²—verily, thou wert a companion of the Apostle of God and didst well in his companionship; and he remained ever pleased with thee till ye were separated. Thereafter thou wert a companion of Abū Bakr and didst well in his companionship; and he remained ever pleased with thee till ye were separated. Then thou wert a com-

فأخذ منها شاة، فطلبها حتى استنقذها. فالتفت إليه الذئب فقال له: من لها يوم السبع ليس لها راع غيري؟

فقال الناس: سبحان الله! — فقال النبي ﷺ: فاني أومن به وأبو بكر وعمر. — وما ثم أبو بكر وعمر.

١٤ حدثنا يحيى بن بكير: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب قال: أخبرني أبو أمامة بن سهل ابن حنيف عن أبي سعيد الخدري (رض) قال:

سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: بينا أنا نائم رأيت الناس عرّضوا عليّ وعليهم قصص، فمنها ما يبلغ الثدي ومنها ما يبلغ دون ذلك. وعرض عليّ عمر وعليه قميص اجتره. — قالوا: فما أولته يا رسول الله؟ — قال: الدين.

١٥ حدثنا الصلت بن محمد: حدثنا اسمعيل بن ابراهيم: حدثنا أيوب عن ابن أبي مليكة عن المسور بن مخرمة قال:

لما طعن عمر جعل يألّم، فقال له ابن عباس وكأنه يجزعه: يا أمير المؤمنين! ولئن كان ذاك— لقد صحبت رسول الله ﷺ فأحسنّت صحبتته، ثم فارقتّه وهو عنك راض. ثم صحبت أبا بكر فأحسنّت صحبتته، ثم فارقتّه وهو عنك راض. ثم صحبت

1 The term *din* has a very wide range of meanings: sometimes it stands for "religion" in the sense of a code of laws (*sharī'ah*), or simply, a law; sometimes for "obedience" (which is its primary meaning); occasionally, it is taken to denote "faith". For a full discussion of this term, see the Introductory Note to Bkh ii (The Book of Faith). The above allusion to 'Umar implies that his religious ardour was greater than that of the other men whom the Prophet saw in dream.

2 I.e., "if thou art to die".

panion of their companions and didst well in their companionship; and if indeed thou art to leave them, they will remain pleased with thee.—[‘Umar] said: As to what thou hast mentioned about [my] companionship with the Apostle of God and his pleasure [with me], behold, that was a favour which God, exalted be He, hath bestowed upon me. And as to what thou hast mentioned about [my] companionship with Abū Bakr and his pleasure [with me], behold, that was a favour which God, glorified be His name, hath bestowed upon me. And as to this grief in which thou seest me, this is [but] for thine and thy companions’ sake.¹ By God, had I as much gold as might fill the earth, I would offer it as ransom from the wrath of God², the Lord of Might and Glory, ere I meet Him.³

Hammād ibn Zayd said: Ayyūb related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abī Mulaykah, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās: “I went in unto ‘Umar”—[and the rest] the same [as above].

- 16 Yūsuf ibn Mūsā related to us: Abū Usāmah related to us, saying: ‘Uthmān ibn Ghiyāth related to me: Abū ‘Uthmān an-Nahdī related to us,

ON the authority of Abū Mūsā, who said: I was with the Prophet in one of the gardens of Madinah, when a man came and asked to be let in. The Prophet said: Let him in, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—So I opened [the gate] and lo, it was Abū Bakr. I announced to him what the Prophet had said, and he praised God. Then another man came and asked to be let in. And the Prophet said: Let him in, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—So I opened [the gate], and lo, it was ‘Umar. I informed him of what the Prophet had said, and he praised God. Then another man came and asked to be let in. And [the Prophet] said to me: Let him in, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise after a calamity which is to befall him.—And

صحبته فأحسن صحبته، ولئن فارقتهم لتفارقهم وهم عنك راضون. — قال: أما ما ذكرت من صحبة رسول الله ﷺ ورضاه فأنما ذاك من من الله تعالى من به علي؛ وأما ما ذكرت من صحبة أبي بكر ورضاه فأنما ذلك من من الله جل ذكره من به علي؛ وأما ما ترى من جزعي فهو من أجلك وأجل أصحابك. والله لو أن لي طلاع الأرض ذهباً لافتديت به من عذاب الله عز وجل قبل أن أراه.

قال حماد بن زيد: حدثنا أيوب عن ابن أبي مليكة عن ابن عباس: «دخلت على عمر» — بهذا.

- ١٦ حدثنا يوسف بن موسى: حدثنا أبو أسامة قال: حدثني عثمان بن غياث: حدثنا أبو عثمان النهدي

عن أبي موسى (رض) قال: كنت مع النبي ﷺ في حائط من حيطان المدينة، فجاء رجل فاستفتح. فقال النبي ﷺ: افتح له وبشره بالجنة. — ففتحت له فاذا هو أبو بكر؛ فبشرته بما قال النبي ﷺ، فحمد الله. ثم جاء رجل فاستفتح فقال النبي ﷺ: افتح له وبشره بالجنة. — ففتحت له فاذا هو عمر؛ فأخبرته بما قال النبي ﷺ، فحمد الله. ثم استفتح رجل، فقال لي: افتح له وبشره بالجنة على بلوى تصيبه. — فاذا عثمان؛

1 —and not on account of bodily suffering.

2 Lit., “punishment from God”.
3 In his deep humility, which made him overlook all his merits and see only his shortcomings, ‘Umar was afraid lest God should call him to account for any omissions or mistakes in the administration of the community which had been in his charge.

lo, it was 'Uthmân. I informed him of what the Apostle of God had said, and he praised God; and said: It is God Who is to be besought for aid.

فأخبرته بما قال رسول الله ﷺ، فحمد الله ثم قال: الله المستعان.

- 17 Yahyâ ibn Sulaymân related to us, saying: Ibn Wahb related to me, saying: Haywah informed me, saying: Abû 'Aqil Zuhrah ibn Ma'bad related to me that

١٧ حدثنا يحيى بن سليمان قال: حدثني ابن وهب قال: أخبرني حيوة قال: حدثني أبو عقيل زهرة بن معبد

HE heard his grandfather, 'Abd Allâh ibn Hishâm, say: We were with the Prophet, and he was holding the hand of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.¹

أنه سمع جده عبد الله بن هشام قال: كنا مع النبي ﷺ وهو آخذ بيد عمر بن الخطاب.

SECTION VIII

THE VIRTUES OF 'UTHMÂN IBN 'AFFÂN ABÛ 'AMR AL-QURASHÎ

The Prophet said: Whoso diggeth the well of Rûmah, his shall be the Paradise;—and 'Uthmân dug it.² And [the Prophet] said: Whoso fitteth out the Army of Difficulty³, his shall be the Paradise;⁴—and 'Uthmân fitted it out.⁵

- 1 Sulaymân ibn Harb related to us: Hammâd ibn Zayd related to us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of Abû 'Uthmân,

مناقب عثمان بن عفان أبي عمرو القرشي (رض)

وقال النبي ﷺ: من يحفر بئر رومة فله الجنة، — فحفرها عثمان. وقال: من جهز جيش العسرة فله الجنة، — فجهزه عثمان.

ON the authority of Abû Mûsâ: The Prophet entered a garden and bade me guard its gate. Then a man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—And lo, it was Abû Bakr. Thereafter another man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] said: Let

١ حدثنا سليمان بن حرب: حدثنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن أبي عثمان

عن أبي موسى (رض) أن النبي ﷺ دخل حائطاً وأمرني بحفظ باب الحائط. فجاء رجل يستأذن، فقال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة. — فاذا أبو بكر. ثم جاء آخر يستأذن، فقال: ائذن له

1 Fragment of a Tradition which is fully reproduced in Bkh lxx/3, No. 5.

2 When the early Muslims migrated to Madinah, there was near that town a spring called Rûmah, which belonged to a man of Banû Ghifâr. Its water was far better than that of Madinah, and the owner used to sell it at a heavy price. When the Prophet requested him to give the spring as a gift to the Muslim community, he refused it. Thereupon 'Uthmân bought it for 3,500 *dinârs* and made it a *waqf* for the whole community; and in addition to the spring he dug by its side a well and had it faced with solid masonry. (*Faḥ al-Bâri* V, 314.)

3 *Jaysh al-'Usrah*. The *Ghazwat al-'Usrah* ("the Campaign of Difficulty") was a name given to the campaign of Tabûk on account of the extremely difficult circumstances under which it took place. See Bkh lii/80.

4 The above two sayings of the Prophet are found, with more details, in Bkh xlv/34, and in *Dâraqutnî*, p. 509.

5 He contributed several hundred camels and 1,000 *dinârs* towards the equipment of this expedition (cf. *Tirmidhî*, *B. Manâqib 'Uthmân*; *Faḥ al-Bâri* VII, 43).

him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise.—And lo, it was 'Umar. Thereafter another man came and asked leave to enter. And [the Prophet] remained silent for a while; then he said: Let him enter, and announce to him [that he will gain] Paradise after a calamity that is to befall him.—And lo, it was 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.

Hammād said: And 'Āsim al-Aḥwal and 'Alī ibn al-Hakam related to us [that] they heard Abū 'Uthmān relate, on the authority of Abū Mūsā, the like [of the above Tradition]. And 'Āsim added [the following] to it:

The Prophet was sitting at a place where there was water, and had his knees

—or: his knee—

uncovered. And when 'Uthmān entered, he covered them.²

- 2 Aḥmad ibn Shabīb ibn Sa'id related to us, saying: My father related to me, on the authority of Yūnus: Ibn Shihāb said: 'Urwah informed me that

'UBAYD ALLĀH ibn 'Adī ibn al-Khiyār³ informed him that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah⁴ and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Aswad ibn 'Abd Yaghūth⁵ said [to him]: What preventeth thee from speaking unto 'Uthmān about his brother, al-Walid⁶, now that the people are bitterly against him?⁷—

وبشره بالجنة. — فاذا عمر. ثم جاء آخر يستأذن، فسكت هنيهة ثم قال: ائذن له وبشره بالجنة على بلوى ستصيبه. — فاذا عثمان بن عفان.

قال حماد: وحدثنا عاصم الأحول وعلى بن الحكم: سمعا أبا عثمان يحدث عن أبي موسى بنحوه. وزاد فيه عاصم

أن النبي ﷺ كان قاعداً في مكان فيه ماء قد انكشف عن ركبته — أو: ركبته —

فلما دخل عثمان غطاها.

- ٢ حدثنا أحمد بن شبيب بن سعيد قال: حدثني أبي عن يونس: قال ابن شهاب: أخبرني عروة

أن عبيد الله بن عدي بن الخيار أخبره أن المسور بن مخرمة وعبد الرحمن بن الأسود بن عبد يغوث قالوا: ما يمنعك أن تكلم عثمان لأخيه الوليد فقد أكثر الناس فيه؟ —

1 Sc., in addition to the above version.

2 'Uthmān was the most modest of all Companions, and so the Prophet covered his knees out of consideration for him (*Fath al-Bārī* VII, 43 f). It also may be that the Prophet was not quite as intimate with 'Uthmān—perhaps on account of the latter's shyness—as he was with Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

3 He was a *tābi'i*, a relative of 'Uthmān, and known for a righteous man; he died at Madinah during the Caliphate of Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Sa'd V, 35).

4 He was a nephew of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and was born in Mecca two years after the Prophet's *hijrah* and went in the year 8 A.H. with his father to Madinah. At the time of the Prophet's death he was eight years old. Later he was held in high esteem on account of his learning in religious matters. After 'Uthmān's death he returned to Mecca, and was killed, during the siege of 64 A.H., by a stray missile from a catapult, while praying in the Great Mosque. (*Isti'āb* I, 261.)

5 He was a *tābi'i* and belonged to the clan of Banū Zuhrah, of Quraysh (Ibn Sa'd V, 2 f).

6 Al-Walid ibn 'Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt was a half-brother of 'Uthmān on their mother's side (his father, 'Uqbah, had been one of the Prophet's bitterest enemies in the early days of the Mission; cf. Bkh li/5, No. 5). 'Uthmān appointed al-Walid governor of Kūfah in place of Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ whom he had recalled in the year 25 A.H. (*Ṭabari* V, 44).

7 The appointment of al-Walid was one of the unfortunate political mistakes of 'Uthmān

So I proceeded to 'Uthmân [and found him] going out for prayer. I said: Behold, I have to speak to thee, and it concerneth a counsel I have to give thee.—['Uthmân] said: O man! . . . from thee!

Ma'mar said: I understand that he meant: "I take my refuge with God from thee!"¹

Then I left [him] and returned to those two; but lo, there came 'Uthmân's messenger [to call me back]; so I went to him. He asked: What is thy counsel?—I answered: Behold, God, glory be unto Him, hath sent Muḥammad with the Truth, and hath revealed the Book unto him; and thou wert of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle. And thou hast taken part in both migrations², and wert a companion of the Apostle of God, and hast seen his mode of life. Now, the people are bitterly against al-Walid.—He said: Didst thou ever meet the Apostle of God?—I answered: Nay³, but knowledge of him hath reached me as it even reacheth the bashful virgin.⁴—['Uthmân] said: Now, to

فقصدت لعثمان حتى خرج الى الصلاة؛ قلت:
إن لي اليك حاجة وهي نصيحة لك. — قال:
يا أيها المرء! . . . منك!

قال معمر: أراه قال: «أعوذ بالله منك!»

فانصرفت فرجعت اليهما اذ جاء رسول
عثمان فأتيته؛ فقال: ما نصيحتك؟ — فقلت:
إن الله سبحانه بعث محمداً ﷺ بالحق وأنزل
عليه الكتاب؛ وكنت ممن استجاب لله ولرسوله
ﷺ فهاجرت الهجرتين وصحبت رسول الله ﷺ
ورأيت هديه. وقد أكره الناس في شأن الوليد.
— قال: أدركت رسول الله ﷺ؟ — قلت:
لا، ولكن خلص التي من عليه ما يخلص الى
العذراء في سترها. — قال: أما بعد. فان الله

which contributed so much to the subsequent disruption of the Muslim community. Al-Walid was a man without principles and the people of Kūfah resented his appointment in the place of the righteous Sa'd, who had been one of the intimate Companions of the Prophet. On one occasion, al-Walid led the prayer in the mosque in drunken state and behaved in a disgraceful manner; when the people complained to 'Uthmân, he seemed to be reluctant to inflict the legal punishment on his half-brother ('Aynî XVI, 203). Ibn Ḥajar says (*Fath al-Bâri* VII, 44) that 'Uthmân was not to be blamed, for he only waited for impartial evidence regarding al-Walid's conduct. As a matter of fact, he ultimately recalled him from his post and imprisoned him at Madinah ('Aynî, *loc. cit.*). Later he ordered him also to be flogged, as is narrated at the end of the above Tradition.

1 The author quotes this explanatory remark from another version of the same Tradition (Bkh li/13, No. 1)—which has Ma'mar among its transmitters—in order to explain 'Uthmân's answer to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Adi, because in the version before us this answer is reproduced in an abbreviated, and thus not fully intelligible, form. 'Uthmân's expression shows that he was aware of the purport of 'Ubayd Allāh's talk, and was annoyed by it for obvious reasons.

2 I.e., the migration of Abyssinia (see Bkh li/13) and that to Madinah. It was held to be a particular distinction if a Companion had taken part in both migrations.

3 This negation does not necessarily imply that 'Ubayd Allāh had in reality never seen the Prophet, for he was born during the latter's life-time (*Fath al-Bâri* VII, 45) and most probably had seen him some time or other; but then he was presumably too young to speak with him or to understand him.

4 Lit., "the virgin in her seclusion"—meaning that the Prophet's sayings and actions are not reserved only to those who actually saw him, for his whole life was an open book and he often insisted that the present should report to the absent what he had said or done; and so it is possible that even modest virgins who do not come out into society may know all about him and his teachings.

come to the point: Behold, God hath sent Muḥammad with the Truth, and I was of those who responded to the call of God and His Apostle, and had faith in the object of his mission; I took part in the two migrations, as thou saidst, and was a companion of the Apostle of God and had sworn allegiance to him: and, by God, never was I disobedient to him and never did I deceive him until God caused him to die. And [I did] the same [with] Abū Bakr and 'Umar; then I became Caliph. Have I, then, not the same right as they had? — I answered: Yea.—He continued: What, then, doth this your talking mean? As to what thou hast said about al-Walid, we shall apply to him the Law, if God, exalted be He, so willeth.—Then he called 'Ali and bade him flog [al-Walid]; and ['Ali] dealt him eighty stripes.²

- 3 Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim ibn Bazī related to me: Shādhān related to us: 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Abī Salamah al-Mājishūn related to us, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allāh, on the authority of Nāfi',

ON the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said: In the time of the Prophet, we esteemed none equal to Abū Bakr; next [came] 'Umar, and next, 'Uthmān. Beside these [three], we did not discuss the [other] companions of the Prophet, and did not give preference to one above another.³

'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ corroborated him⁴, on the authority of 'Abd al-'Aziz.

- 4 Mūsā ibn Ismā'il related to us: Abū 'Awānah related to us: 'Uthmān ibn Mawhab related to us, saying:

بعث محمدًا ﷺ بالحق فكنت ممن استجاب لله ولرسوله ﷺ وآمنت بما بعث به وهاجرت الهجرتين كما قلت وصحبت رسول الله ﷺ وبايعته؛ فوالله ما عصيته ولا غششته حتى توفاه الله. ثم أبو بكر مثله ثم عمر مثله. ثم استخلفت؛ أفليس لي من الحق مثل الذي لهم؟ — قلت: بلى. — قال: فما هذه الأحاديث التي تبلغني عنكم؟ أما ما ذكرت من شأن الوليد فسنأخذ فيه بالحق إن شاء الله تعالى. — ثم دعا علياً فأمره أن يحلده، فجلده ثمانين.

- ٣ حدثني محمد بن حاتم بن بزيع: حدثنا شاذان: حدثنا عبدالعزيز بن أبي سلمة الماجشون عن عبيد الله عن نافع

عن ابن عمر (رض) قال: كنا في زمن النبي ﷺ لا نعدل بأبي بكر أحداً، ثم عمر ثم عثمان، ثم ترك أصحاب النبي ﷺ لا نفاضل بينهم.

تابعه عبد الله بن صالح عن عبد العزيز.

- ٤ حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو عوانة: حدثنا عثمان — هو ابن موهب — قال:

1 I.e., the right of appointing and deposing officers and of receiving obedience on the part of the Muslims.

2 This presumably did not occur immediately after the conversation quoted above, for al-Walid remained for some time in prison and was flogged afterwards (cf. p. 48 f, n. 7).

3 I.e., they did not classify other Companions *individually*—for, as regards *groups* of them, some of these were evidently regarded as superior to others, e.g., the *Muhājirs*, the *Anṣār*, the ten men to whom the Prophet announced in their life-time that they would enter Paradise, the Companions who took part in the battle of Badr, etc. Ibn 'Umar apparently meant that only with regard to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān they had clear indications from the Prophet himself as to their individual superiority over the other Companions. Cf. sec. 4.

4 Sc., Shādhān, one of the transmitters of the above Tradition.

A MAN of the people of Egypt came on his pilgrimage to the House of God. He saw some people sitting [there] and asked: Who are these people?—Someone answered: They are Quraysh.—[The man] asked: And who is their chief?—They answered: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar.¹—[The Egyptian] said: O Ibn 'Umar, I wish to ask thee about something, and thou answer me: Dost thou know that 'Uthmān fled on the day of [the battle of] Uhud?—[Ibn 'Umar] answered: Yea.—He asked: Dost thou know that he was absent from Badr, and did not take part [in the battle]?—[Ibn 'Umar] answered: Yea.—He asked: Dost thou know that he was absent during [the Pledge of] ar-Riḍwān² and did not take part in it?—[Ibn 'Umar] answered: Yea.—[The Egyptian] said: God is great!³

[Thereupon] Ibn 'Umar said: Come, I will explain [all this] to thee. As to his flight on the day of Uhud, I do bear witness that God hath absolved him from it and hath forgiven him.⁴ As to his absence from Badr, behold, he was wedded to a daughter of the Apostle of God, and she was ill⁵; so the Apostle of God said unto him: Behold, thou shalt have a reward [equal to that] of any who took part in [the battle of] Badr, and an equal share [in the spoils]. And as to his absence during [the Pledge of] ar-Riḍwān: had there been anyone more highly esteemed in Mecca than 'Uthmān, indeed the Apostle of God would have sent him; and he sent 'Uthmān.⁶ The Pledge

جاء رجل من أهل مصر حج البيت فرأى قوماً جلوساً؛ فقال: من هؤلاء القوم؟ فقالوا: هؤلاء قريش. — قال: فمن الشيخ فيهم؟ قالوا: عبد الله بن عمر. — قال: يا ابن عمر! إني سائلك عن شيء فحدثني عنه. هل تعلم أن عثمان فر يوم أحد؟ — قال: نعم. — فقال: تعلم أنه تغيب عن بدر ولم يشهد؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: هل تعلم أنه تغيب عن بيعة الرضوان فلم يشهدا؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: الله أكبر!

قال ابن عمر: تعال أبين لك. أما فراره يوم أحد فأشهد أن الله عفا عنه وغفر له؛ وأما تغيبه عن بدر فانه كان تحته بنت رسول الله ﷺ وكانت مريضة، فقال له رسول الله ﷺ: إن لك أجر رجل ممن شهد بدرًا وسهمه. وأما تغيبه عن بيعة الرضوان: فلو كان أحد أعز بطن مكة من عثمان لبعثه مكانه، فبعث رسول الله ﷺ عثمان؛ وكانت بيعة الرضوان

1 In the period following the Right-Guided Caliphs, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar held a unique position on account of his righteousness and his vast knowledge of Islām.

2 The Pledge of ar-Riḍwān took place in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 6 A.H., just before the Truce of Ḥudaybiyah (see Bkh lii/37).

3 From the foregoing conversation it appears that the Egyptian in question was a partisan of the Alides and thus biassed against 'Uthmān who belonged to the clan of Banū Umayyah. In putting the above questions to Ibn 'Umar, who had a great reputation for integrity, he obviously expected that his antagonism to 'Uthmān would be vindicated by historical facts. Ibn 'Umar's monosyllabic answers seemed at first to confirm his views; but, as is subsequently shown in this Tradition, Ibn 'Umar was able to explain the alleged misconduct of 'Uthmān.

4 Reference to Qur'ān iii, 155, where God declares His forgiveness to those who at the time of the battle of Uhud lost their hearts and fled.

5 When the Prophet was leaving for Badr, his daughter Ruqayyah was ill, and he ordered her husband 'Uthmān to remain with her at Madinah. She died at the moment when Zayd ibn Ḥārithah arrived with the news of the victory (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 24).

6 See Bkh lii/37.

of ar-Riḍwān took place after 'Uthmān had left for Mecca; and the Apostle of God said, pointing to his right hand: This is the hand of 'Uthmān,—then he struck it with his [other] hand and said: This on behalf of 'Uthmān.¹—And Ibn 'Umar added: Now take these [explanations] with thee.²

- 5 Musaddad related to us: Yahyā related to us, on the authority of Sa'id, on the authority of Qatādah, that Anas related to them, saying:

THE Apostle of God ascended Mount Uhud, and with him there were Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān; and [the mountain] trembled. [The Prophet] said: Be steady, Uhud!

—I believe³ he struck it with his foot—
for upon thee there are but a prophet, a man of truth, and two martyrs.

SECTION IX

THE STORY OF THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO, AND AGREEMENT UPON, 'UTHMĀN IBN 'AFFĀN, AND OF THE ASSASSINATION OF 'UMAR

Mūsā ibn Ismā'il related to us: Abū 'Awānah related to us, on the authority of Ḥuṣayn,

ON the authority of 'Amr ibn Maymūn, who said: I saw 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb at Madinah some days before he was killed. Speaking to Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān⁴ and 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf⁵, he said: How did ye act? Do ye perchance fear that ye have assessed the land beyond its capacity?⁶—They

بعد ما ذهب عثمان الى مكة، فقال رسول الله ﷺ بيده اليمنى: هذه يد عثمان، — فضرب بها على يده فقال: هذه لعثمان. — فقال له ابن عمر: اذهب بها الآن معك.

٥ حدثنا مسدد: حدثنا يحيى عن سعيّد عن قتادة أن أنساً (رض) حدثهم قال:

صعد رسول الله ﷺ أحداً ومعه أبو بكر وعمر وعثمان فرجف؛ وقال: اسكن أحد! — أظنه ضربه برجله —

فليس عليك إلا نبى وصديق وشهيدان.

٩ باب

قصة البيعة والاتفاق على عثمان بن عفان

وفيه مقتل عمر (رض)

حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن حصين

عن عمرو بن ميمون قال: رأيت عمر ابن الخطاب (رض) قبل أن يصاب بأيام بالمدينة وقف على حذيفة بن اليمان وعثمان بن حنيف قال: كيف فعلتما؟ أتخافان أن تكونا قد حملتما الأرض

1 In taking his pledge for granted, the Prophet signified his complete confidence in 'Uthmān.
2 "—and give up thy wrong notions about 'Uthmān."
3 This uncertainty is obviously due to one of the later transmitters. Cf. sec. 7, No. 8, where this sentence occurs in the *matn*.

4 For details about this Companion, see sec. 55.

5 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf ibn Wāhib al-Anṣārī, a ṣaḥābī. He served under 'Umar and 'Alī as tax collector, after having been unanimously recommended to 'Umar by the Muslim leaders as trustworthy and experienced. He died in Kūfah in the time of Mu'āwiyah (*Istī'āb* II, 483).

6 These two men had been sent by 'Umar to assess the impost on the rural districts (*as-sawād*) of the recently conquered 'Irāq, and the amount of *jizyah* to be paid by those of the inhabitants who did not embrace Islām (*Fath al-Bārī* VII, 49). 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf levied on each *jarīb* of irrigated land one *dirham* in cash and one *qafiz* (about seventy pints) of grain. A year before 'Umar's death, this tax is said to have amounted in the *sawād* of Kūfah alone to about 100 million *dirhams*.

said: We have only assessed it according to its capacity; there is no excess in it.—[‘Umar] said: Beware that ye assess not the land beyond its capacity!—They said: Nay, [we did not do so].—Thereupon ‘Umar said: Indeed, if God, exalted be He, keep me alive, I shall leave the widows of ‘Irâq so [well provided for] that after me they will never have to look to anyone for help.¹—[Ibn Maymûn] added: But he was killed ere four days passed.

[He further] said: On the morning when he was killed I was standing [in the mosque ready for prayer], and between me and him there was but ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Abbâs. While passing between the rows [‘Umar] said: Adjust your ranks!—Then, when he saw that there was no empty space in them, he advanced and recited the *takbîr*. He usually recited during the first *rak‘ah* the *sûrah* “Yûsuf” or “The Bee” or such like, so that the people might [have time to] assemble.² But [this time] he only recited the *takbîr* when I heard him cry out, on his being stabbed³:

ما لا تطيق؟ — قال: حملناها أمراً هي له مطيقة، ما فيها كبير فضل. — قال: انظروا أن تكونوا حملتم الأرض ما لا تطيق! — قال: قال: لا. — فقال عمر: لئن سلني الله تعالى لأدعن أرامل أهل العراق لا يحتجن إلى رجل بعدى أبداً. — قال: فماتت عليه إلا رابعة حتى أصيب.

قال: إني لقائم ما بيني وبينه إلا عبد الله بن عباس غداة أصيب. وكان إذا مر بين الصفين قال: استووا! — حتى إذا لم ير فيهن خلاً تقدم فكبر. وربما قرأ سورة «يوسف» أو «النحل» أو نحو ذلك في الركعة الأولى حتى يجتمع الناس؛ فما هو إلا أن كبر فسمعه يقول: قتلتني — أو: أكلني —

(*Ist‘âb* II, 483). ‘Umar was obviously perturbed at this high figure and was afraid that the taxes were too heavy.

1 ‘Umar apparently intended to utilise a part of the revenues derived from ‘Irâq for the maintenance of destitute widows in that country.

2 The above-mentioned *sûrahs* are somewhat long, so late-comers had time to join the congregation before the *imâm* bowed down in the *rukû‘*.

3 In the original, this part of the sentence is in the active form (“when he stabbed him”); it has been rendered in the passive for the sake of clearness.

The cause of ‘Umar’s assassination was as follows (Ibn Sa’d III/i, 244 ff; Ṭabarî V, 12 ff): Al-Mughîrah ibn Shu‘bah, the governor of Kûfah, had a Persian slave, Fêrôz abû Lu‘lu‘ah, a native of Nuhâwand. He was a highly skilled workman—carpenter, smith and sculptor—and al-Mughîrah wished to let him work in Madinah and to profit from his earnings. (Under the Islâmic Law, the owner of a slave is entitled to a certain share in the latter’s gains.) Although ‘Umar had previously forbidden any adult non-Muslim foreigner to enter the capital of the Islâmic Empire, he consented to al-Mughîrah’s request in the hope that the people of Madinah would benefit by the Persian slave’s skill. Abû Lu‘lu‘ah set up his trade in Madinah and prospered. Al-Mughîrah used to take four *dirhams* from his daily earnings, which were considerable. One day, the slave complained to the Caliph that his master charged him too high a tribute; but, on finding that the Persian’s earnings were far above the small sum demanded from him, ‘Umar held that the tribute was not excessive. Nevertheless, he intended (according to *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 49 f) to intercede with al-Mughîrah on behalf of the slave. For the present, however, he admonished the latter to behave well. This seeming indifference caused the slave’s wrath, and when ‘Umar asked whether he could build for him a windmill, the slave answered darkly: “I will make for thee such a mill that all people will talk of it.” ‘Umar understood that this was a threat, but did not pay any attention to it. Abû Lu‘lu‘ah provided himself with a double-bladed dagger and hid it in the mosque. On the morning

The dog hath killed me!—or: bitten me!—Thereupon the foreign infidel¹ fled, with a double-bladed dagger [in his hand], and did not pass anyone on his right or left without stabbing him, until he stabbed thirteen men, seven of whom died. On seeing this, a man of the Muslims² threw his *burnus*³ over him; and when the infidel knew that he was caught, he killed himself.

And 'Umar took the hand of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and made him advance [as *imām*]. And whoso was nigh unto 'Umar saw what I had seen; but [the people in] the remote parts of the mosque perceived naught save that they missed 'Umar's voice; and they were saying: Glory be unto God! Glory be unto God!—Then 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf led the prayer, making it short. And when [the congregation] had dispersed, ['Umar] said: O Ibn 'Abbās, see who it was that hath killed me.—So [Ibn 'Abbās] went round, and then came back and said: The slave of al-Mughīrah.—['Umar] said: That skilled crafts-

الكلب! — حين طعنه. فطار العليج بسكين ذات طرفين لا يمر على أحد يميناً ولا شمالاً الا طعنه حتى طعن ثلاثة عشر رجلاً مات منهم سبعة. فلما رأى ذلك رجل من المسلمين طرح عليه برنساً؛ فلما ظن العليج أنه مأخوذ نحر نفسه.

وتناول عمر يد عبد الرحمن بن عوف فقدمه. فمن يلي عمر فقد رأى الذي أرى، وأما نواحي المسجد فانهم لا يدرون غير أنهم قد فقدوا صوت عمر وهم يقولون: سبحان الله! سبحان الله! — فضلى بهم عبد الرحمن بن عوف صلاة خفيفة. فلما انصرفوا قال: يا ابن عباس! انظر من قتلني. — فجال ساعة ثم جاء فقال: غلام المغيرة. —

of Wednesday, the 27th Dhu'l-Hijjah, 23 A.H. (5th November, 644 A.C.), he stabbed 'Umar during the prayer of dawn. There is some difference of opinion as regards the exact date (cf. Ṭabarī V, 13 f; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 265), but all reports agree in that it happened on a Wednesday. 'Umar received several deep wounds in the abdomen and died during the following night. We are told (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 242 f) that on the Friday preceding the murder, he had dreamt that a cock crowed twice or thrice over him; he interpreted this as his approaching death, and added: "A non-Arab (*raġul min al-a'ājim*) will kill me." This would explain the definite article in his outcry, when stabbed: "The dog hath killed me!"

1 'Ilj—a sturdy, bulky, or coarse man; especially, of the non-Arab infidels; or simply, a foreign infidel (*Lisān al-'Arab* III, 151).

2 According to *Faḥ al-Bārī* VII, 50, this man was a *Muhājir*, Ḥiṭṭān at-Tamīmī al-Yarbū'i, and not, as would appear from Ibn Sa'd III/i, 252, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Awf. The *isnād* in the Tradition quoted in Ibn Sa'd is not reliable, as it is "interrupted" (*munqaṭi'*): there is no mention of an intervening *tābi'i* before the first transmitter, Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd. I was unable to find anywhere a further reference to the above-mentioned Ḥiṭṭān.

3 A hooded cloak used to this day by the Arabs in North Africa and the Ṭawāriq of the Sahara. In the early days of Islām it was widely used in Arabia (cf. Lane I, 196).

4 It speaks a great deal for the discipline of those early Muslims that the turmoil caused in the front ranks by the assassination of 'Umar and several other men did not break up the congregation. Only those who were in the front ranks left their places, while the rows further down remained standing as they had been. The expression "Glory be unto God" is used when members of the congregation think that the *imām* has committed an error in his recitation or in the ritual of prayer (cf. Bkh xviii/3). Restrained by their sense of discipline, the Muslims present in the mosque did not know what had happened in front, and probably thought that their *imām* had forgotten the words of the Qur'ān-text he was reciting and stopped too long to remember them.

man?—[Ibn 'Abbās] answered: Yea.—[And 'Umar] said: May God punish him! Verily, I had enjoined the right thing regarding him¹! Praise be unto God, Who hath not caused me to die at the hand of a man who professeth Islām! [O Ibn 'Abbās!] It was thou and thy father who have desired that there should be many foreign infidels in Madinah.² —(Al-'Abbās had possessed more slaves than any of them.) And [Ibn 'Abbās] said: if thou wilt, I shall act (—or, [perhaps he said:] If thou wilt, we shall kill them).—['Umar] said: Thou art wrong³! [Wouldst thou kill them now,] after they have begun to speak your language, and to pray toward your *qiblah*, and to perform the same pilgrimage as ye perform?⁴—Thereafter he was borne to his home, and we went with him.⁵

And the people had never before that day suffered [such] a calamity. One said: It is nothing serious.—And another said: I fear for him.

قال: الصنع؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: قاتله الله! لقد أمرت به معروفاً! الحمد لله الذي لم يجعل ميتتى بيد رجل يدعى الاسلام. قد كنت أنت وأبوك تحبان أن تكثر العلوج بالمدينة. — (وكان العباس أكثرهم رقيقاً.) فقال: ان شئت فعلت (— أى: ان شئت قتلنا). — قال: كذبت! بعد ما تكلموا بلسانكم وصلوا قبلتكم وحجوا حجكم؟ — فاحتمل الى بيته فانطلقنا معه.

وكان الناس لم تصيهم مصيبة قبل يومئذ. فقائل يقول: لا بأس. — وقائل يقول: أخاف عليه.

1 This may refer to the report that 'Umar intended to request al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah to alleviate the impost on his slave. But I cannot find any authoritative indication that he really wrote to al-Mughirah in this respect; there is only a Tradition, mentioned in *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 49 f, on the authority of Rāfi', in which it is said that "it was 'Umar's intention to see al-Mughirah and to speak to him, so that he might reduce it" (i.e., the tribute levied on his slave). But this reference is so vague that we cannot rely on it alone in trying to explain 'Umar's saying, "I had enjoined the right thing regarding him". Another, more probable, explanation suggests itself from 'Umar's subsequent reproach to Ibn 'Abbās, that it was he and his father who had been in favour of admitting foreign infidels (*'ulūj*) to Madinah. 'Umar had been always afraid that these people would cause mischief in the City of the Prophet. (See also subsequent note.)

2 Traditions to this effect are found in Ibn Sa'd III/i, 254 and 256. 'Umar was strongly against it, but al-'Abbās remonstrated with him, saying that the work at Madinah was too heavy to be done without foreign slaves (*Fath al-Bārī* VII, 51).

3 The verb *kadhaba* does not always mean "lying"; it often denotes (and particularly in the dialect of the Hijāz), erring, or making a mistake (cf. *Lisān al-'Arab* II, 203 f; Lane VII, 2599).

4 Ibn 'Abbās obviously said the above in despair, seeing 'Umar fatally wounded. But the dying Caliph reminded him that he could not kill them now, after many of them had—outwardly at least—embraced Islām; for even if some of them were hypocrites at heart, they now were members of the Muslim community.

5 It is recorded (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 254 f) that 'Umar subsequently fainted, and his companions thought that he was going to die that very moment. Then one of them suggested that they should recite the call to prayer, for this was the thing which 'Umar had loved most, and it would revive him. They did it, and he regained consciousness, looked around and said: "The prayer? O God! there is no place in Islām for him who gives up prayer!" And, although he was profusely bleeding, he performed his ablution and said the prayer of dawn which he had missed.

Some must of dates¹ was brought to him, and he drank it: and it came out from his belly.² Then milk was brought unto him, and he drank it: and it came out through his wound. Thus they knew that he would die. We went in unto him, and the people came in, extolling him. And a young man came and said: Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful, about the announcement which God—as thou well knowest—gave thee³ on account of thy companionship with the Apostle of God and thy merit⁴ with regard to Islâm. Then thou becamest Caliph, and wert just. And [now there is thy] martyrdom. —[‘Umar] said: Would that such were the balance: naught against me, and naught in my favour.—When [the youth] was leaving his loincloth was touching the ground. [‘Umar] said: Bring the boy back to me!—[Then] he said: My brother’s son⁵! Lift thy loincloth: for, indeed, this is better for thy garment, and is more reverential toward thy Sustainer.⁶—[Then he said:] O ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Umar! Find out how much debt there is upon me.—They counted it and found that it was eighty-six thousand [dirhams] or so.⁷

فَأَتَى بَنِيذَ فَشْرَبَهُ نَخْرَجَ مِنْ جَوْفِهِ، ثُمَّ
أَتَى بَلْبَنَ فَشْرَبَهُ نَخْرَجَ مِنْ جَرْحِهِ؛ فَعَلِمُوا
أَنَّهُ مَيِّتٌ. فَدَخَلْنَا عَلَيْهِ وَجَاءَ النَّاسُ يَثْنُونَ
عَلَيْهِ. وَجَاءَ رَجُلٌ شَابٌ فَقَالَ: أَبَشِّرْ يَا أَمِيرَ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِبَشْرَى اللَّهِ لَكَ مِنْ صَحْبَةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ
ﷺ وَقَدْ مَكَدَ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ مَا قَدْ عَلِمْتَ؛ ثُمَّ وَلِيْتَ
فَعَدَلْتَ ثُمَّ شَهِدْتَ. — قَالَ: وَدِدْتُ أَنْ ذَلِكَ
كَفَافٌ، لَا عَلَيَّ وَلَا لِي. — فَلَمَّا أَدْبَرَ إِذَا
أَزَارُهُ يَمَسُّ الْأَرْضَ. قَالَ: رُدُّوا عَلَيَّ الْغَلَامَ!
— قَالَ: ابْنُ أَخِي! ارْفَعْ ثَوْبَكَ، فَانْهَ أَبْقَى لثَوْبَكَ
وَأَتَقَى لِرَبِّكَ. يَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عُمَرَ! انْظُرْ مَا عَلَيَّ
مِنَ الدِّينِ. — فَحَسِبُوهُ فَوْجُدُوهُ سِتَّةَ وَثَمَانِينَ
أَلْفًا أَوْ نَحْوَهُ. قَالَ: إِنْ وَفَى لَهُ مَالُ آلِ عُمَرَ فَادَّاهُ

1 *Nabîdh* (must) is a beverage of dates put in water and left in it for some time. Before it ferments (that is, before it develops alcohol and thus becomes intoxicating) it is lawful; after that, it becomes *harâm*.

2 Obviously his stomach was perforated.

3 ‘Umar was one of the ten Companions to whom the Prophet had announced in their lifetime that they would gain Paradise; this is amply shown in the preceding sections of this chapter.

4 The noun in question can be spelt in two ways: *qadam*, which means precedence in matter of rank—in other words, merit, or merits; and *qidam*, which denotes precedence in matter of time. If we take the second reading, the meaning would be, “thy having early embraced Islâm”. Both readings are admissible, but I have taken the first because it is more comprehensive.

5 That the young man was not actually a nephew of ‘Umar is evident from another version of the same Tradition in Bkh xix/96, No. 5, where he is described as an *Anṣârî*. The appellation “my brother’s son” is often used by the Arabs when an older man addresses a younger one; correspondingly, a young man addresses an old and respected one as “my uncle”.

6 See Bkh lxxv/2. It is characteristic of ‘Umar that even on his death-bed he did not cease to pay full attention to religious injunctions and to advise his companions in this respect.

7 In a Tradition on the authority of Jâbir (*apud Faṭḥ al-Bârî* VII, 52), ‘Abd ar-Rahmân ibn ‘Awf is said to have asked ‘Umar for what purpose he had spent that amount (because ‘Umar’s own way of living was extremely frugal); and ‘Umar explained that he had spent it on several pilgrimages—he had performed them with a large following of poor people—and for some emergencies of State. It is clear that this was not a personal expenditure, and ‘Umar could have well regarded it as spent in the interest of the community of which he was the head. But his

['Umar] said: If the property of 'Umar's family suffice, repay it from their possessions; if not, demand it from Banû 'Adi ibn Ka'b; and if their possessions suffice not, demand it from the Quraysh; and appeal not to others beside them.² Thus thou shalt repay this debt on my behalf. And go to 'Â'ishah, Mother of the Faithful, and say: 'Umar offereth thee his greeting,—and do not say, "the Commander of the Faithful", for, behold, to-day I am no more commander of the Faithful³; and say: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asketh leave to be buried beside his two companions⁴.

Thereupon ['Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar] greeted ['Â'ishah] and asked leave to enter; then he went in unto her and found her sitting and weeping. And he said: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb offereth thee his greeting and asketh leave to be buried beside his two companions.—And she said: I had desired it for myself, but to-day, indeed, I shall give him preference over myself.⁵

When he returned, someone announced: Here is 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar; he hath come back.—['Umar] said: Raise me up!—And a man propped him up. Then he asked: What bringest thou?—[His son] answered: That which thou lovest [to hear], O Commander of the Faithful: she hath given leave.—He said: Praise be unto God! There was naught which caused me more anxiety than this! Thus, when my end hath come, bear me [to 'Â'ishah's house]; then give thy greetings and say: 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asketh leave to enter. If she give leave, bear me inside; and if she refuse me, bring me back to the graveyard of the Muslims.

من أموالهم والا فسل في بني عدى بن كعب، فان لم تف أموالهم فسل في قريش، ولا تعدهم الى غيرهم، فأدعنى هذا المال. انطلق الى عائشة أم المؤمنين فقل: يقرأ عليك عمر السلام — ولا تقل «أمير المؤمنين»، فاني لست اليوم للمؤمنين أميراً؛ وقل: يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب أن يدفن مع صاحبيه.

فسلم واستأذن ثم دخل عليها فوجدها قاعدة تبكي. فقال: يقرأ عليك عمر بن الخطاب السلام ويستأذن أن يدفن مع صاحبيه. — فقالت: كنت أريده لنفسى ولأوثرته به اليوم على نفسى.

فلما أقبل قيل: هذا عبد الله بن عمر قد جاء. — قال: ارفعوني! — فأسنده رجل اليه. فقال: ما لديك؟ — قال: الذي تحب يا أمير المؤمنين: أذنت. — قال: الحمد لله! ما كان من شيء أهم اليّ من ذلك! فاذا أنا قضيت فأحملوني، ثم سلم فقل: يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب. فان أذنت لي فأدخلوني وان ردتني ردوني الى مقابر المسلمين.

uncommonly keen sense of responsibility demanded of him that the above expenditure, which did not come under any of the conventional budgetary headings (to-day we would design it as "extraordinary budget"), should be restituted from his own means.

1 'Umar's clan.

2 According to the ancient Arab code of honour, the clan and the tribe of a deceased debtor were morally responsible for the payment of his debts.

3 He wished to impress upon 'Â'ishah that the subsequently mentioned request was made in his private capacity and not as Commander of the Faithful to whom obedience was due; and that she was under no obligation whatever to fulfil it.

4 I.e., the Prophet and Abû Bakr, whose graves were within 'Â'ishah's house.

5 There was no room left for more than one grave.

And there came the Mother of the Faithful, Ḥaṣṣah¹, and [other] women were following her; and when we saw her, we rose. And she went in unto him and wept for a time by his side; then the men asked leave to enter, and she went inside; and we heard her weeping from the inner room.

Then [the men] said: Make thy will, O Commander of the Faithful, and appoint thy successor.²—He said: I do not see anyone worthier of this office than these persons

—or: people³—

with whom the Apostle of God remained pleased unto his death.—And he mentioned 'Alī, 'Uthmān, az-Zubayr, Ṭalhah, Sa'd and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān,⁴ and said: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, who hath no share in government, shall be your witness: [this] as a consolation for him.⁵ And should the authority devolve

وجاءت أم المؤمنين حفصة والنساء تسير معها؛ فلما رأيناها قمنا. فولجت عليه فبكت عنده ساعة؛ واستأذن الرجال فولجت داخلاً لهم، فسمعنا بكاءها من الداخل.

فقالوا: أوص يا أمير المؤمنين، استخلف.
— قال: ما أجد أحق بهذا الأمر من هؤلاء نفر — أو: الرهط —

الذين توفي رسول الله ﷺ وهو عنهم راض.
— فسمى علياً وعثمان والزبير وطلحة وسعداً وعبد الرحمن وقال: يشهدكم عبد الله بن عمر وليس له من الأمر شيء كهية التعزية له. فان

1 She was 'Umar's daughter; married the Prophet in 3 A.H. and died in 41 A.H. (*Isti'āb* II, 713 f.).

2 It appears that even at an earlier date the Muslims had requested 'Umar to appoint his successor; so, e.g., there is a Tradition (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 242 f) according to which 'Umar said in his last Friday-sermon, five days before his assassination: "Some people desire me to appoint my successor" etc. A similar reference, without mention of the date at which it happened, is found in Bkh lxxx/51, No. 2. It seems, however, that he did not make up his mind in this matter until he was fatally wounded.

3 Uncertainty on the part of one of the transmitters. The word used in the Arabic text is *raḥt*; it generally denotes a group of men less than ten, and sometimes a little more (cf. Lane III, 1169).

4 These six men belonged to the ten to whom in their life-time Paradise had been announced. The other four were: 'Umar himself, Abū Bakr, Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and Sa'id ibn Zayd. Abū 'Ubaydah was already dead at that time (see sec. 23, n.); and Sa'id ibn Zayd was a cousin of 'Umar, and—as is apparent from a Tradition mentioned in *Faḥ al-Bārī* VII, 54—the latter purposely omitted him from the number of his possible successors in order to remove any doubt as to his impartiality. His recommendation of the six remaining personalities was based solely on the distinction conferred upon them by the Prophet himself. Five of these six Companions are discussed in separate sections of this chapter. As to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, he belonged to the clan of Banū Zuhrah, of Quraysh. He was born ten years after the Year of the Elephant (about 570 A.C.), embraced Islām at an early period, participated in the migration to Abyssinia, and was subsequently among the first who migrated to Madinah. He took part in all campaigns of the Prophet, grew very rich through trade, and died in 31 or 32 A.H. (*Isti'āb* II, 390 f.).

5 In order to make some amends for the fact that his son 'Abd Allāh had never had any share in the affairs of State, 'Umar appointed him as a sort of arbiter for the candidates for the Caliphate; but there is no evidence of his ever having acted in this capacity, because the lead in the proceedings which resulted in the election of 'Uthmān was taken by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, as is narrated in this Tradition. According to several well-authenticated reports, some people had suggested to 'Umar that he should nominate 'Abd Allāh as his successor, but he refused it on the ground that 'Abd Allāh was too soft-hearted for so responsible a post (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 248; Ṭabari

upon Sa'd, be it so; otherwise, he from among you who will become invested with the authority shall avail himself of his aid; for, behold, I did not dismiss him on account of any incapacity or faithlessness [on his part].¹

Then he said: To him who will be Caliph after me, I commend the early *Muhājirs*²; he shall remember what is due to them and assure them of their [place of] honour. And I commend to him kindness toward the *Anṣār*, who have taken their abode in the City [of the Prophet] and in the faith before them³; [the deeds of] those from among them who do good shall be welcomed, and those from among them who do wrong shall be pardoned.⁴ And I commend to him kindness toward the dwellers of the towns, for, behold, they are the mainstay of Islām, the accumulators of wealth and the terror of the enemy; and naught shall be taken from them⁵ save what they can well spare. And I commend to him kindness toward the Bedouins, for, behold, they are the mainspring of the Arabs⁶ and the substance of Islām; and only a part

أصابت الامرة سعداً فهو ذاك، والا فليستن به أيكم ما أمر؛ فاني لم أعزله عن عجز ولا خيانة.

وقال: أوصى الخليفة من بعدى بالمهاجرين الأولين أن يعرف لهم حقهم ويحفظ لهم حرماتهم. وأوصيه بالأنصار خيراً «الذين تبوءوا الدار والايمان من قبلهم» أن يقبل من محسنهم وأن يعفى عن مسيئهم. وأوصيه بأهل الأمصار خيراً فانهم رء الاسلام وجاة المال وغيظ العدو، وأن لا يؤخذ منهم الا فضلهم عن رضاهم. وأوصيه بالأعراب خيراً، فانهم أصل العرب ومادة الاسلام، أن يؤخذ من حواشي أموالهم

V, 33 ff). For 'Umar, the question of the Caliphate was a matter of religious duty alone, and he never let any of his relatives benefit by his position.

1 Sa'd had been sent by 'Umar in 14 A.H. to 'Irāq as commander-in-chief (Ṭabarī IV, 84 ff). He conquered that country and founded the town of Kūfah in 17 A.H. (*ibid.*, p. 188 ff). Subsequently he was the governor of that town and of the whole of 'Iraq, until 'Umar recalled him (*ibid.*, p. 231). The reason of this dismissal was, that some people of Kūfah, belonging to the clan Banū Asad, complained to 'Umar that Sa'd did not know how to perform his prayers (see *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 68, and also sec. 16, No. 4, as well as Bkh viii/245, No. 1, where some other complaints are mentioned). 'Umar must have later realised that these complaints were not based on truth.

2 According to some commentators, the designation of "early *Muhājirs*" was applied to those who migrated to Madinah before the *qiblah* was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, that is, before the month of Rajab, 2 A.H.; according to others, to those who took part in the Pledge of ar-Riḍwān, towards the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 6 A.H. ('Aynī XVI, 212).

3 I.e., before the *Muhājirs*. This is a quotation from the Qur'ān lix, 9. The *Anṣār* had not, as a matter of fact, embraced Islām before all of the *Muhājirs*, but they had done it, as a group, before the people of Mecca; and from the very beginning they were so engrossed in Islām that it became their spiritual abode. Another possible explanation of the expression "before them" is (according to 'Aynī XVI, 213), that they accepted Islām before the coming of the Prophet to Madinah.

4 Free quotation of a saying of the Prophet (cf. sec. 44, Nos. 1, 2 and 3).

5 Sc., by way of taxes.

6 Only those who can trace their descent to one of the Bedouin tribes are regarded as real Arabs; all others, e.g., many of the town-dwellers and villagers in Syria, 'Irāq, North Africa, etc., who speak the Arabic language but do not descend from a Bedouin tribe, are considered to be only "arabianised".

of their less valuable cattle shall be taken from them, and [that] shall be returned unto the poor among them. And I commend to him those who are under the protection of God and His Apostle¹; the covenant made with them shall be fulfilled, and [the Caliph] shall fight for them²; and they shall not be burdened with more than they can afford.³

When [ʿUmar] expired we bore him away [to ʿĀʾishah]. And ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar greeted [her] and said: ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb asketh leave to enter.—She said: Bring him in.—Then he was brought in and laid there to rest beside his two companions.

When the burial was over, those people⁴ assembled, and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān said: Give up your claims in favour of three from among you.⁵—Thereupon az-Zubayr said: I give up my claim in favour of ʿAlī.—And Ṭalhah said: I give up my claim in favour of ʿUthmān.—And Saʿd said: I give up my claim in favour of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf.—Then ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān said: If one of you two⁶ renounce his claim, we shall leave it unto him to choose by himself the best of them⁷; and God and Islām be his witnesses.—But the two elders⁸ remained silent.—Thereupon ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān said: Will ye, then, leave it unto me? And God be my witness that I shall not fail to choose the best of you.—The two said: Yea.—Thereupon he took one of them⁹ by the hand and said:

وترد على فقرائهم. وأوصيه بذمة الله وذمة رسوله ﷺ أن يوفي لهم بعهدهم وأن يقاتل من ورائهم، ولا يكفوا الا طاقتهم.

فلما قبض خرجنا به فانطلقنا نمشي. فسلم عبد الله بن عمر قال: يستأذن عمر بن الخطاب. — قالت: أدخلوه. — فأدخل فوضع هنالك مع صاحبيه.

فلما فرغ من دفنه اجتمع هؤلاء الرهط فقال عبد الرحمن: اجعلوا أمركم الى ثلاثة منكم. — فقال الزبير: قد جعلت أمري الى علي. — فقال طلحة: قد جعلت أمري الى عثمان. — وقال سعد: قد جعلت أمري الى عبد الرحمن بن عوف. — فقال عبد الرحمن: أيكما تبرا من هذا الأمر فنجعله اليه والله عليه والاسلام لينظرن أفضلهم في نفسه. — فأسكت الشيخان. فقال عبد الرحمن: أفتجعلونه الي؟ والله على أن لا آلو عن أفضلكم. — قالوا: نعم. — فأخذ بيد

1 *Ahl adh-dhimmah* are those from among the conquered non-Muslims who remain within the fold of their religion and pay a capitation tax (*jizyah*) to the Muslim government; in return, the latter guarantees them their institutions and full social freedom and protects them in the same way as the Muslim subjects. See also Bkh xlvi/218.

2 *I.e.*, whenever they are attacked by a third party.

3 Reference to the amount of the capitation tax to be imposed on them. This was always left to the discretion of the Caliph.

4 The six personalities whom ʿUmar designated as candidates for the Caliphate.

5 In order to reduce the possibility of dissension he proposed to reduce the number of candidates from six to three.

6 *I.e.*, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.

7 By following the above procedure, the number of candidates was reduced to three including ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān; and now the latter proposed that one of them should renounce his claim and act as arbiter between the remaining two.

8 *I.e.*, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.

9 ʿAlī, as is obvious from the sequence.

Thou art related to the Apostle of God and art the earliest Muslim, as thou well knowest. So God be thy witness: if I confer the power upon thee, be just; and if I confer it upon 'Uthmân, heed him and obey him.—Then he took the other aside and spake likewise unto him. And after he had made this covenant [with them], he said: Raise thy hand, O 'Uthmân!—and swore allegiance to him, and 'Alī swore allegiance to him. Then the people of the City [of the Prophet] came in and swore allegiance to him.

SECTION X

THE VIRTUES OF 'ALĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB
AL-QURASHĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ ABU'L-ḤASAN

*The Prophet said unto 'Alī: Thou art of me and I am of thee.*¹—And 'Umar said: *The Apostle of God remained pleased with him unto his death.*²

- 1 Qutaybah ibn Sa'id related to us: 'Abd al-'Azīz related to us, on the authority of Abū Ḥāzim, on the authority of Sahl ibn Sa'd:

THE Apostle of God said: To-morrow I shall give the standard to a man through whose hands God will grant us victory.³

[Sahl ibn Sa'd] said:

And the people spent the night wondering to which of them it would be given. When the morn came, they hastened to the Apostle of God, everyone of them hoping that it would be given to him. Then [the Prophet] said: Where is 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib?—They answered: He is suffering from his eyes,⁴ O Apostle of God!—He said: Then send for him and bring him to me.—When he came, [the Prophet] spat into his eyes and prayed for him;

أحدهما فقال: لك قرابة من رسول الله ﷺ والقدم في الاسلام ما قد علمت؛ فالله عليك لأن أمرتك لتعدلن، ولئن أمرت عثمان لتسمعن ولتطيعن. — ثم خلا بالآخر فقال له مثل ذلك. — فلما أخذ الميثاق قال: ارفع يدك يا عثمان! — فبايعه وبايع له على وولج أهل الدار فبايعوه.

١٠ باب

مناقب على بن أبي طالب القرشي الهاشمي
أبي الحسن (رض)

وقال النبي ﷺ لعلي: أنت مني وأنا منك. — وقال عمر: توفي رسول الله ﷺ وهو عنه راض.

١ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا عبد العزيز عن أبي حازم عن سهل بن سعد (رض) أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لأعطين الراية غداً رجلاً يفتح الله على يديه. قال:

فبات الناس يدوكون ليلتهم أيهم يعطاها. فلما أصبح الناس غدوا على رسول الله ﷺ كلهم يرجو أن يعطاها. فقال: أين علي بن أبي طالب؟ — فقالوا: يشتكي عينيه يا رسول الله! — قال: فأرسلوا إليه فأتوني به. — فلما جاء بصق في عينيه

1 This is a fragment of a long Tradition quoted in Bkh xliii/6, No. 2, and lii/45, No. 1.

2 Abbreviated quotation from the Tradition in sec. 9, where 'Umar is reported to have said this of the six men—one of whom was 'Alī—whom he recommended as candidates for the Caliphate.

3 This is an incident of the campaign of Khaybar, in the year 7 A.H. (see Bkh lii/40). In several Traditions (Ibn Ḥanbal V, 353 f and 358 f; *Mustadrak* III, 37 f; Ibn Hishām II, 227) it is narrated that the standard was first given to Abū Bakr, and then to 'Umar, but both failed to conquer Khaybar.

4 As is evident from the subsequent Tradition, 'Alī suffered from ophthalmia, which forced him to remain in the rear of the army.

and he was cured as if he had never been ill. Then [the Prophet] gave him the standard. And 'Ali said: O Apostle of God! I shall fight them until they are like us!—Thereupon [the Prophet] said: Advance warily till thou reach their dwelling-places; thereafter invite them to Islām and inform them what duties toward God will be incumbent upon them.² For, by God! if God guide aright through thee one single man, this will be better for thee than to possess the most precious of camels³.

- 2 Qutaybah related to us: Hâtim related to us, on the authority of Yazîd ibn Abî 'Ubayd, on the authority of Salamah, who said:

DURING [the campaign of] Khaybar, 'Ali remained behind the Apostle of God, for his eyes were inflamed; then he said: Is it for me to remain behind the Apostle of God?—and he went forth and rejoined the Prophet. And in the eve of the day on which God granted the victory, the Apostle of God said: I shall give the standard to

—or: I shall let the standard be taken by—
a man whom God and His Apostle love

—or he said: who loveth God and His Apostle⁴—;

[and] through him God will grant us victory. —And lo, we saw 'Ali, whom we did not expect. [The people] said: Here is 'Ali!—Thereupon the Apostle of God gave him [the standard], and God granted us victory through him.

ودعاه، فبرأ حتى كأن لم يكن به وجع؛ فأعطاه الراية. فقال علي: يا رسول الله! أقاتلهم حتى يكونوا مثلنا! — فقال: انفذ علي رسلك حتى تنزل بساحتهم، ثم ادعهم الى الاسلام وأخبرهم بما يجب عليهم من حق الله فيه. فوالله لأن يهدي الله بك رجلاً واحداً خير لك من أن يكون لك حمر النعم.

- ٢ حدثنا قتيبة: حدثنا حاتم عن يزيد بن أبي عبيد عن سلة قال:

«كَانَ عَلِيٌّ قَدْ تَخَلَّفَ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ فِي خَيْرٍ وَكَانَ بِهِ رَمَدٌ؛ فَقَالَ: أَنَا أَتَخَلَّفُ عَنِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ؟ — فخرج علي فلحق بالنبي ﷺ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ مَسَاءَ اللَّيْلَةِ الَّتِي فَتَحَهَا اللَّهُ فِي صَبَاحِهَا قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: لِأَعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ — أَوْ: لِيَأْخُذَنَّ الرَّايَةَ —

غداً رجلاً يحبه الله ورسوله

— أَوْ قَالَ: يَحِبُّ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولَهُ —

يَفْتَحُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ. — فَاذَا نَحْنُ بَعْلَى وَمَا نَرْجُوهُ. فَقَالُوا: هَذَا عَلِيٌّ! — فَأَعْطَاهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَقَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ.

1 I.e., until they embrace Islām.

2 Sc., if they accept Islām. The *shari'ah* does not permit to fight against non-Muslims unless they first have been invited to accept Islām or to pay *jizyah* and have rejected both. See in this connection Bkh xlvii.

3 Lit., "red camels" (*ḥumr an-na'am*). The Arabs regard the camels of this colour as the best, hence *ḥumr an-na'am* "signifies the high-bred, or excellent, of camels, and is proverbially applied to anything highly prized, precious, valuable, or excellent" (Lane II, 641 f). Thus the Prophet wished to impress upon 'Ali that the foremost duty of a *mujāhid* consisted in the endeavour to bring the non-Muslim enemy into the fold of Islām before waging war upon him.

4 Uncertainty on the part of a transmitter. In another version of the same Tradition, on the authority of Sahl ibn Sa'd, in Bkh lii/40, No. 15, both sentences occur side by side: "whom God and His Apostle love, and who loveth God and His Apostle".

- 3 'Abd Allāh ibn Maslamah related to us; 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Hāzim related to us, on the authority of his father:

AMAN came to Sahl ibn Sa'd¹ and said: Such-and-such

—meaning the governor of Madinah²—

abuseth 'Ali from the pulpit.—[Sahl] said: And what doth he say?—He answered: He calleth him "Father of Dust" (*Abū Turāb*).—Thereupon [Sahl] laughed and said: By God! none else than the Prophet [himself] gave him this name; and no name was dearer unto him than this.

[Abū Hāzim said:] Then I desired Sahl to let me enjoy this Tradition, and said: O Abū 'Abbās³, how [was this]?

[Sahl] said: 'Ali went in unto Fāṭimah; then he left and went to sleep in the mosque.⁴ Thereupon the Prophet asked [Fāṭimah]: Where is thy uncle's son⁵?—She answered: In the mosque.—So the Prophet went to him and saw that his wrap had slipped from his back, and his back was covered with dust.⁶ And the Prophet set himself to wipe the dust from his back, saying twice: Get up, O thou Father of Dust!

حدثنا عبد الله بن مسleme: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن أبي حازم عن أبيه

أن رجلاً جاء إلى سهل بن سعد فقال: هذا فلان

—لأمير المدينة—

يدعو علياً عند المنبر.—قال: فيقول ماذا؟—قال: يقول له «أبو تراب».—فضحك قال: والله ما سماه إلا النبي ﷺ، وما كان له اسم أحب إليه منه. فاستطعمت الحديث سهلاً وقلت: يا أبا عباس! كيف؟

قال: دخل عليّ على فاطمة ثم خرج فاضطجع في المسجد. فقال النبي ﷺ: أين ابن عمك؟—قالت: في المسجد.—فخرج إليه فوجد رداءه قد سقط عن ظهره وخلص التراب إلى ظهره؛ فجعل يمسح التراب عن ظهره فيقول: اجلس يا أبا تراب!—مرتين.

1 Sahl ibn Sa'd ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī. At the time of the Prophet's death, he was fifteen years old; one of the last Companions from among the *Anṣār*, he died in 88 or 91 A.H., nearly one hundred years old (*Isti'āb* II, 571 f).

2 This explanatory remark obviously goes back to the transmitter Abū Hāzim (Salamah ibn Dīnār). I was unable to trace anywhere the name of the governor in question. But, as until the death of 'Ali Madinah was the capital of the Empire, and, consequently, had no governor of its own, this incident must have happened in the time of the Umayyads, and a governor of that period was naturally susceptible of animosity against 'Ali. It might have been Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who for a considerable time, during the reign of Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd, was governor of Madinah and often used publicly to abuse 'Ali. It is also evident from other reports (cf. *Faḥ al-Bārī* VII, 60) that the Umayyads used 'Ali's nickname "Abū Turāb" in a contemptuous sense; they were obviously ignorant of its origin, which is given in the above Tradition.

3 *Kunyah* of Sahl ibn Sa'd.

4 In the same Tradition, in Bkh viii/58, No. 2, it is stated that the two had quarrelled, and so 'Ali intended to spend the night in the mosque instead of at home.

5 I.e., 'Ali. In reality he was not her cousin, but her father's. But owing to the custom to marry cousins, prevalent among the Arabs, they often apply the designation "uncle's son" or "uncle's daughter" to husband and wife even in cases where this relationship does not exist.

6 Lit., "the dust reached his back".

- 4 Muḥammad ibn Râfi' related to us: Husayn related to us, on the authority of Zâ'idah, on the authority of Ḥaṣin, on the authority of Sa'd ibn 'Ubaydah, who said:

A MAN came to Ibn 'Umar and asked him about 'Uthmân and [Ibn 'Umar] mentioned his good deeds [and] said: Perchance this is disagreeable to thee?¹—[The man] answered: Yea.—[Ibn 'Umar] said: Then may God abase thee!²—Then [the other] asked him about 'Alî, and [Ibn 'Umar] mentioned his good deeds, [and] said: His house was in the midst of the Prophet's houses.³—And he added: Perchance this [also] is disagreeable to thee?—[The man] answered: It is!—[Ibn 'Umar] said: Then may God abase thee! Go away, and do against me all thou art able to do!

- 5 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to me: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of al-Ḥakam: I heard Ibn Abi Laylâ say:

'A LÎ related to us: Faṭimah complained of the fatigue which the handmill caused her. [At that time] a slave had been brought to the Prophet⁴; so she went [to him], and found him not [at home]. But she found 'Â'ishah and told her [her desire].⁵ And when the Prophet returned, 'Â'ishah informed him of Faṭimah's visit. Thereupon the Prophet came to us; and we had already lain down to sleep. I wanted to get up, but he said: Remain as ye are!—And he sat down between us, so that I felt the coldness of his feet on my chest; and he said: Shall I show you a thing better than that which ye

- ٤ حدثنا محمد بن رافع: حدثنا حسين عن زائدة عن أبي حصين عن سعد بن عبيدة قال:

«جاء رجل إلى ابن عمر فسأله عن عثمان فذكر عن محاسن عمله، قال: لعل ذاك يسوءك؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: فأرغم الله بأنفك! — ثم سأله عن علي فذكر محاسن عمله، قال: هو ذاك بيته أوسط بيوت النبي ﷺ. — ثم قال: لعل ذاك يسوءك؟ — قال: أجل! — قال: فأرغم الله بأنفك! انطلق فاجهد على جهدك!»

- ٥ حدثني محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن الحكم: سمعت ابن أبي ليلى قال:

«حدثنا علي أن فاطمة عليها السلام شكت ما تلقى من أثر الرحي؛ فأتى النبي ﷺ سبي فأنطلقت فلم تجده؛ فوجدت عائشة فأخبرتها. فلما جاء النبي ﷺ أخبرته عائشة بمجيء فاطمة. فجاء النبي ﷺ إلينا وقد أخذنا مضاجعنا؛ فذهبت لأقوم فقال: علي مكانكما! — فقعد بيننا حتى وجدت برد قدميه على صدري، وقال: ألا أعلمكما خيراً مما

1 Ibn Ḥajar (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 58) seems to believe that this man was identical with the Egyptian mentioned in sec. 8, No. 4, and that both Traditions refer to one and the same incident. But the wording of the two Traditions, as well as the entirely different *isnâds*, do not appear to justify this assumption. While the Egyptian of the first Tradition was obviously a partisan of the Alides, the man mentioned in this one reminds us rather of the Khawârij, who held that 'Alî and the Umayyads were equally responsible for the tragic split in Islâm (cf. Ṭabarî VI, 83 f, where the story of the plot to murder 'Alî, Mu'âwiyah and 'Amr ibn al-Âṣ is narrated at length).

2 Lit., "may God cleave thy nose to the dust".

3 I.e., he was a member of the Prophet's family.

4 Evidently a captive from one of the recent campaigns.

5 In another version of the same Tradition, in Bkh lxvii/11, it is clearly stated that "she went to the Prophet to ask him for a servant"—evidently the recently brought-in slave.

have demanded of me? When ye lay down to sleep, say thirty-four times, "God is Great", thirty-three times, "Glory be unto God", and thirty-three times, "All praise is due unto God"; this is better for you than a servant.

- 6 Muḥammad ibn Bashshâr related to us: Ghundar related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Sa'd, who said: I heard [this from] Ibrâhim ibn Sa'd, on the authority of his father, who said:

THE Prophet said unto 'Alî: Art thou not satisfied with being unto me what Aaron was unto Moses?¹

- 7 'Alî ibn al-Ja'd related to us: Shu'bah informed us, on the authority of Ayyûb, on the authority of Ibn Sirin, on the authority of 'Abidah,

ON the authority of 'Alî, who said²: Judge as ye used to judge [before], so that the people may remain united—for I hate discord—and I may die as my companions have died.³

*Ibn Sirin regarded most of the reports about 'Alî as lies.*⁴

سألتني؟ إذا أخذتما مضاجعكما تكبرا أربعاً وثلاثين وتسبحا ثلاثاً وثلاثين وتحمدا ثلاثة وثلاثين؛ فهو خير لكما من خادم.

- ٦ حدثنا محمد بن بشار: حدثنا غندر: حدثنا شعبة عن سعد قال: سمعت ابراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه قال:

قال النبي ﷺ: أما ترضى أن تكون مني بمنزلة هرون من موسى؟

- ٧ حدثنا علي بن الجعد: أخبرنا شعبة عن أيوب عن ابن سيرين عن عبيدة

عن علي قال: اقضوا كما كنتم تقضون—فاني أكره الاختلاف—حتى يكون للناس جماعة أو أموت كما مات أصحابي.

فكان ابن سيرين يرى أن عامة ما يروى على الكذب.

1 Shi'ite authors often refer to this and similar Traditions in support of their claim that 'Alî was meant by the Prophet to be his successor. But the Sunni commentators (e.g., *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 60) argue—I believe, rightly—that the above saying of the Prophet referred merely to the family-relationship between him and 'Alî, and not to the question of the Caliphate; for Aaron was not the *khalifah* of Moses, having preceded him in death. The Tradition under consideration has been fully quoted in Bkh lii/80, No. 2. There we read that the Prophet ordered 'Alî to remain in Madînah in charge of the city and the Prophet's family while he himself was proceeding on the campaign of Tabûk. When 'Alî expressed his disappointment, the Prophet referred to the example of Moses who had left his brother Aaron in charge of the community when he himself ascended Mt. Sinai. In a Tradition on the authority of Sa'd (Ibn Ḥanbal I, 175), 'Alî is reported to have been highly gratified by this comparison.

2 Sc., to the people of 'Irâq. During his tenure of the Caliphate, the question arose as to whether a female slave who had born a child to her master could be sold by him or not. 'Umar had held—in accordance with the most authentic Traditions on this subject—that the Prophet had forbidden to sell such a slave again and had ordered that she be regarded automatically as free on her master's death (if the latter had not already freed her in his life-time). This was originally also 'Alî's view, but later he changed it and held that she could be sold (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 59). As his view, however, was vehemently opposed by the majority of Muslims, he renounced it and, as is told in the above Tradition, ordered them to continue to judge according to the principle established in 'Umar's time. The legal aspects of the above problem are discussed Bkh xl/8, n.

3 I.e., as the head of a united community, as was the case with his predecessors.

4 This refers to the reports—mostly from Shi'ite sources—in which 'Alî is alleged to have spoken against Abû Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmân (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 60).

SECTION XI

THE VIRTUES OF JA'FAR IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB
AL-HĀSHIMĪ¹

*The Prophet said: Thou resemblest me in appearance and character.*²

- 1 Aḥmad ibn Abi Bakr related to us: Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dinār abū 'Abd Allāh al-Juhānī related to us, on the authority of Ibn Abi Dhī'b, on the authority of Sa'id al-Maqbūrī,

ON the authority of Abū Hurayrah³: The people used to say: Abū Hurayrah relateth too many [Traditions].⁴ Behold, [this is because] I used to keep close to the Prophet—for my belly was easily satisfied⁵—and ate no leavened bread, and wore no showy garment⁶; and never man or woman

باب ١١

مناقب جعفر بن أبي طالب الهاشمي (رض)

وقال النبي ﷺ: أشبهت خلقي وخلق.

- ١ حدثنا أحمد بن أبي بكر: حدثنا محمد بن إبراهيم ابن دينار أبو عبد الله الجهني عن ابن أبي ذئب عن سعيد المقبري

عن أبي هريرة (رض) أن الناس كانوا يقولون: أكثر أبو هريرة. وإني كنت ألزم رسول الله ﷺ بشبع بطني حتى لا آكل الخمر ولا ألبس الحبير ولا يخدمني فلان ولا فلانة.

1 He was a brother of 'Alī, ten years older than the latter. One of the oldest Muslims, he became the leader of the emigrants to Abyssinia, and returned from that country to the Prophet after the conquest of Khaybar (7 A.H.); and the Prophet said: "I know not whether to rejoice more about the conquest of Khaybar or the return of Ja'far." In 8 A.H., at the age of forty-one, he was sent as second-in-command on the expedition of Mu'tah; he succeeded the commander-in-chief, Zayd ibn Hārithah, after the latter fell, and was himself subsequently killed. Before he received his mortal wound he lost both his arms in fight, and the Prophet is reported to have later said that in Paradise Ja'far would be given two wings instead; thence the appellations *aṭ-Ṭayyār* ("the Flyer") and *Dhu'l-Janāḥayn* ("the Two-Winged one") given to him by his companions after his death (cf. No. 2 in this section). In appearance he strongly resembled the Prophet. (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 22 ff; *Istī'āb* I, 81 f.)

2 Fragment from a long Tradition quoted in Bkh xlii/6, No. 2, and lii/45, No. 1.

3 As there is no separate section in this work dealing with Abū Hurayrah, a brief account of his life is given in the following. "Abū Hurayrah" was not his real name, but a pet name given to him by the Prophet on account of the tenderness he once showed to a little cat (*hurayrah*, dem. of *hirrah*). His real name is not known with certainty; it is said to have been 'Abd ash-Shams before he embraced Islām, and afterwards 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, 'Abd Allāh, 'Āmir or 'Umayr. He belonged to the tribe of Daws, and came to Madinah in the year 7 A.H., when the Prophet was at Khaybar; he followed him there and embraced Islām. From that time onward he never left the Prophet and was day and night in his attendance as his most faithful servant. This fact accounts for the great number of Traditions attributed to him. During 'Umar's Caliphate, he acted for a short time as tax-collector in Baḥrayn, but does not seem to have relished this appointment. He died at Madinah in 58 or 59 A.H., at the age of seventy-eight. (Ibn Sa'd IV/ii, 52 ff; *Istī'āb* II, 697 f.)

4 The objections against some of the Traditions reported by Abū Hurayrah will be fully discussed in my *Introduction to the Study of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

5 This was indeed a necessary qualification for a permanent companion of the Prophet, in whose house food was never abundant. Abū Hurayrah did not care for the good things of this world, so he did not pursue any trade, but preferred to remain in attendance on the Prophet.

6 *Ḥabir*, a striped garment of the kind called *burd* (cf. Lane II, 499); hence, any kind of

served me. And [often] would I press my belly against a stone on account of hunger; and would ask a man to recite a Qur'an-verse to me—although I knew it by heart—only that he take me [home] with him and feed me. And the most generous of all people toward the poor was Ja'far ibn Abi Ṭalib¹; he would take us² [home] with him and would give us to eat all that was in his house—and would offer us even the empty butter-skin³; he would tear it and we would lick whatever [remained] therein.

- 2 'Amr ibn 'Alī related to me: Yazīd ibn Hārūn related to us: Ismā'il ibn Abi Khālid informed us, on the authority of ash-Sha'bi:

WHEN greeting Ja'far's son⁴, Ibn 'Umar would say: Greeting unto thee, O son of the Two-Winged one⁵!

SECTION XII

CONCERNING AL-'ABBĀS IBN 'ABD

AL-MUṬṬALIB⁶

Al-Hasan ibn Muḥammad related to us: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī related

و كنت ألصق بطني بالحصباء من الجوع، وإن كنت لأستقرى الرجل الآية هي معي كي ينقلب بي فيطعمني. وكان أخير الناس للمسكين جعفر ابن أبي طالب؛ كان ينقلب بنا فيطعمنا ما كان في بيته — حتى إن كان ليخرج إلينا العكة التي ليس فيها شيء فيشقها فنلحق ما فيها.

٢ حدثني عمرو بن علي: حدثنا يزيد بن هرون: أخبرنا اسمعيل بن أبي خالد عن الشعبي

عن ابن عمر (رض) كان إذا سلم على ابن جعفر قال: السلام عليك يا ابن ذي الجناحين!

باب ١٢

ذكر العباس بن عبد المطلب (رض)

حدثنا الحسن بن محمد: حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله

adorned or showy garment. The reading *ḥarīr* (silk), which occurs in the text of al-Kashmihānī is, according to Ibn Ḥajar, incorrect (*Fath al-Bārī* VII, 61); but the latter fails to mention that the same reading is to be found in the texts of Abū Dharr and Ibn 'Asākir as well (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, vol. V, 19). It is possible that Abū Hurayrah refers to the period before the prohibition of silken garments for men. On the whole, however, the reading *ḥabīr* is preferable.

1 The Prophet used to call him "father of the poor" ('Aynī XVI, 220).

2 I.e., poor people of the kind of the narrator; cf. note on *aṣḥāb aṣ-ṣuffah* in Bkh viii/58.

3 'Ukkah, a small leathern receptacle for clarified butter.

4 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far; d. 80 A.H. (*Isti'āb* I, 324).

5 See p. 66, n. 1.

6 He was an uncle of the Prophet, and two or three years older than the latter. It appears that he was attracted by Islām at an early period, for he actively supported the Prophet at al-'Aqabah on the occasion of the delegation from the tribes Aws and Khazraj, who invited the Prophet to Madinah. But he did not openly embrace Islām for some time to come, although from Mecca he used to communicate the plans of the Quraysh to the Prophet who in the meantime had migrated to Madinah. Subsequently al-'Abbās also wanted to go there, but the Prophet seems to have preferred that he should stay at Mecca and, as before, inform him about the movements of the Quraysh. Against his will, al-'Abbās was forced to take part in the battle of Badr on the side of the pagan Quraysh, and was taken prisoner by the Muslims; later he returned to Mecca, presumably for the same purpose as before. Finally, in the year 7 or 8 A.H., he openly declared his conversion to Islām and migrated to Madinah, where he settled permanently. Subsequently he took part in the campaigns of Hunayn, Ṭā'if, and Tabūk and died at Madinah in the year 32 A.H., during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān. (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 2 ff; *Isti'āb* II, 484 ff.)

to us: My father, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muthannā, related to me, on the authority of Thumāmah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Anas, on the authority of Anas:

WHEN there was drought, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb would pray for rain in the name of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, saying: O God! Behold, we used to approach Thee for favour in the name of our Prophet, and Thou gavest us rain; and now, behold, we approach Thee for favour in the name of our Prophet's uncle: so give us rain!

[Anas] said:

Thereupon they would be given rain.¹

SECTION XIII

THE VIRTUES OF THE RELATIVES OF THE APOSTLE OF GOD²

- 1 Abu'l-Yamān related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: 'Urwah ibn az-Zubayr related to me, on the authority of 'Ā'ishah:

FĀṬIMAH sent for Abū Bakr and demanded of him her heritage from the Prophet; it concerned the property which God had granted to His Apostle. She claimed the Prophet's gift to his community³ at

الأنصاري: حدثني أبي عبد الله بن المثنى عن ثمامة بن عبد الله بن أنس عن أنس (رض)

أن عمر بن الخطاب كان إذا خطوا استسقى بالعباس بن عبد المطلب فقال: اللهم! إنا كنا نتوسل إليك بنينا ﷺ فقسقينا؛ وإنا نتوسل إليك بعم نينا فاسقنا! قال:

فيسقون.

باب ١٣

مناقب قرابة رسول الله ﷺ

- ١ حدثنا أبو اليان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري قال: حدثني عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة

أن فاطمة عليها السلام أرسلت إلى أبي بكر تسأله ميراثها من النبي ﷺ فيما أفاء الله على رسوله ﷺ، تطلب صدقة النبي ﷺ التي

1 See Bkh xiii/3, No. 3.

2 In most texts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* follow here the words, "and of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter", as well as the fragment of a Tradition referring to the latter; both are repeated in sec. 32, which treats of Fāṭimah. The text of Abū Dharr, however, omits these portions of the *tarjumah* in sec. 13 (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, vol. V, 20). This is obviously correct, as a separate section of this work is devoted to Fāṭimah, while the present section deals with more general aspects of the Prophet's relations. I have followed in this respect the text of Abū Dharr.

3 In the Arabic text, *ṣadaqat an-nabi* ("the Prophet's alms"). This refers to (a) the plantations taken in war from the defeated Jewish tribe of Banu'n-Naḍir, which became the Prophet's property after most of it had been distributed among the poor *Muhājirs* (*Fath al-Bārī* VI, 152), and (b) the property of the Jew Mukhayriq, of Banū Qaynuqā', who embraced Islām during the battle of Uhud and declared that, in case he fell in battle, his lands should devolve on the Prophet; Mukhayriq was killed on the same day, and the Prophet immediately converted this property into a *waqf* for the Muslim community as a whole (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 182 f). The revenues derived from that part of the lands of Banu'n-Naḍir which the Prophet had kept for himself were not utilised by him, but set aside for emergencies (*ibid.*, p. 183).

The expression *ṣadaqah* was obviously not used by Fāṭimah herself, for she regarded the said property as her rightful heritage; it appears to be an explanatory description on the part of the narrator, 'Ā'ishah. This is the view of al-Kirmānī, one of the oldest commentators of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* ('Ayni XVI, 222).

Madinah, and also Fadak¹, and what remained of the quint of Khaybar.² Abû Bakr said: Behold, the Apostle of God hath said: We [prophets] leave no heritage: what we leave is an alms [to the community]³; behold, the family of Muḥammad shall but derive their subsistence from this property—which is God's property⁴—and shall not go beyond the [needs of] subsistence.⁵ And, by God! [said Abû Bakr,] I shall change naught in [the disposition of] the Prophet's alms observed in his life-time, and shall do concerning them that which the Apostle of God did!⁶

بالمدينة وفدك وما بقى من خمس خيبر. فقال
أبو بكر: إن رسول الله ﷺ قال: لا نورث، ما
تركنا فهو صدقة؛ إنما يأكل آل محمد من هذا
المال — يعنى مال الله — ليس لهم أن يزيدوا على
المأكل. وإني والله لا أغير شيئاً من صدقات النبي
ﷺ التي كانت عليها في عهد النبي ﷺ ولا عملن
فيها بما عمل فيها رسول الله ﷺ.

And 'Alī repeated the Creed⁷ and said: فتشهد على ثم قال: إنا قد عرفنا يا أبا بكر

1 Fadak was a place between Madinah and Khaybar, populated by Jews. In 7 A.H., the people of Fadak sent a deputation to the Prophet, requesting him to allow them to leave their country in peace (Ṭabari III, 95). Subsequently, the lands of Fadak came into the possession of the Prophet, who utilised the revenues derived therefrom for the provisioning of poor travellers (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 183).

2 The *khums* (quint) is the fifth part of the spoils of war which is to be handed over to the chief of the Muslim community, to be utilised by him for the public good (see Bkh xlv/198). As regards the quint (in lands) which he received after the conquest of Khaybar, the Prophet divided it into three parts: two-thirds he distributed among the Muslim community, and one-third he reserved for the maintenance of his own family; what remained of the revenues from the latter he distributed among the poor *Muhājirs* (Ibn Sa'd I/ii, 183). Evidently Fāṭimah demanded the lands which constituted this third of the quint of Khaybar.

3 The meaning of this famous Tradition is, that the property in the hands of prophets is but a trust which they hold on behalf of the community. In another version of this Tradition (Abû Dâ'ūd, *K. al-Kharāj, B. Fi Ṣafāyā Rasūl Allāh*), the Prophet is reported to have said: "If God gives to a prophet means of subsistence, He makes it over, after He had caused [the Prophet] to die, to him who takes his place after him."

4 Allusion to Qur'ān viii, 41.

5 Thus, Abû Bakr rightly maintained, the Prophet's family (i.e., his whole family, and not only his descendants) had a claim upon the usufruct of that property, while the substance was to be regarded as a *waqf*.

6 This refusal on the part of Abû Bakr to fulfil Fāṭimah's demand regarding what she believed to be her father's heritage, annoyed her to such an extent that she ceased to have any connection with Abû Bakr until her death six months later; this is shown in another version of the same Tradition, Bkh xlv/198, No. 2. On the other hand, we have a Tradition in Bayhaqī VI, 301, to the effect that she reconciled herself with Abû Bakr shortly before her death: during her last illness he asked to be admitted to her, which she allowed; he then explained his attitude with regard to the Prophet's heritage, and she understood that he had not been prompted by any animosity against her, but solely by his desire to act according to the commandments of the Prophet.

7 The *kalimah*, "There is no deity save God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God"; it is often used as a preamble before important declarations. As is evident from another, more detailed,

Behold, we acknowledge thy superiority.—
And he mentioned their¹ relationship with
the Apostle of God and their [consequent]
rights. Then Abū Bakr spake and said: By
Him in Whose hand is my soul! I would
rather do good to the relations of the
Apostle of God than to my [own] relations.²

- 2 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb informed me: Khālid related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Wāqid, who said: I heard my father³ relate, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar,

ON the authority of Abū Bakr, who said: Regard Muḥammad by showing regard to the members of his family.

- 3 Abu'l-Walid related to us: Ibn 'Uyaynah related to us, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Dinār, on the authority of Ibn Abī Mulaykah, on the authority of al-Miswar ibn Makh-ramah:

THE Apostle of God said: Fāṭimah is a part of me, and whoso offendeth her, offendeth me.⁴

- 4 Yaḥyā ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of his father, on the authority of 'Urwah,

ON the authority of 'Ā'ishah, who said: During the illness preceding his death, the Prophet called his daughter Fāṭimah and told her something in secret, whereupon she wept. And he addressed her [again] and spake to her in secret, whereupon she laughed. Then—said ['Ā'ishah]—I asked her about it, and she said: The Prophet spake to me in

فضيلتك. — وذكر قرابتهم من رسول الله ﷺ وحقهم. فتكلم أبو بكر فقال: والذي نفسي بيده! لقرابة رسول الله ﷺ أحب إلى أن أصل من قرابتي.

- ٢ أخبرني عبد الله بن عبد الوهاب: حدثنا خالد: حدثنا شعبة عن واقد قال: سمعت أبي يحدث عن ابن عمر

عن أبي بكر (رض) قال: ارقبوا محمدًا ﷺ في أهل بيته.

- ٣ حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا ابن عيينة عن عمرو ابن دينار عن ابن أبي مليكة عن المسور بن مخرمة

أن رسول الله ﷺ قال: فاطمة بضعة مني، فمن أغضبها أغضبني.

- ٤ حدثنا يحيى بن قزعة: حدثنا إبراهيم بن سعد عن أبيه عن عروة

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: دعا النبي ﷺ فاطمة ابنته في شكواه الذي قبض فيها فسارها بشيء فبكت؛ ثم دعاها فسارها فضحكت. قالت: فسألته عن ذلك فقالت: سارني النبي ﷺ

version of this Tradition (Bkh lii/40, No. 41), this fragment refers to a later time, namely, after Fāṭimah's death, which occurred about six months after that of the Prophet. As had been already mentioned on p. 32, n. 7 (continued on p. 33), 'Ali did not swear allegiance to Abū Bakr till after Fāṭimah's death. His above-mentioned speech, and Abū Bakr's answer to it, preceded 'Ali's oath of allegiance.

- 1 I.e., his and his family's.
2 Reference to Abū Bakr's dispute with Fāṭimah, in which the former justified his attitude by his deference to the wishes of the Prophet.
3 Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (*Fath al-Bari* VII, 63).
4 This is a reference to 'Ali's intended marriage with a daughter of Abū Jahl (see sec. 17). The Prophet expressed his disapproval of this marriage and said that the daughter of the Prophet could not be expected to live together with the daughter of Abū Jahl, the Prophet's bitterest enemy.

secret and informed me that he would die in the course of that illness which did take him away, and so I wept. Thereafter he spake to me in secret and informed me that I would be the first of his family to follow him, and so I laughed.

فأخبرني أنه يقبض في وجعه الذي توفي فيه فبكيت؛ ثم سارني فأخبرني أنني أول أهل بيته أتبعه فضحكت.

SECTION XIV

THE VIRTUES OF AZ-ZUBAYR IBN AL-'AWWÂM¹

Ibn 'Abbâs said: He was a helper [ḥawârî] of the Prophet.²—And the ḥawâriyyûn were thus called on account of the whiteness of their garments.

- 1 Khâlid ibn Makhlad related to us: 'Ali ibn Mushir related to us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father, who said: Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam informed me, saying³:

باب ١٤

مناقب الزبير بن العوام (رض)

وقال ابن عباس: هو حواري النبي ﷺ .
وسمى الحواريون لياض ثيابهم.

- ١ حدثنا خالد بن مخلد: حدثنا علي بن مسهر عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه قال: أخبرني مروان ابن الحكم قال:

1 Az-Zubayr was a cousin of the Prophet, his mother Ṣafīyyah being a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and a nephew of Khadijah. He embraced Islām at the age of fifteen or sixteen, shortly after Abû Bakr. He took part in both migrations—to Abyssinia and to Madinah—and in all campaigns of the Prophet. The latter announced to him in his life-time that he would enter Paradise. As is shown in sec. 9, he was one of the six men recommended by 'Umar as his successors in the Caliphate. During the Battle of the Camel (10th Jumâdâ II, 36 A.H./4th December, 656 A.C.), he was at first a partisan of 'Â'ishah; but on the same day he met Ibn 'Abbâs and became convinced by him that it was utterly wrong to take part in this fratricidal fight. He left 'Â'ishah's encampment, but was subsequently killed by one of 'Ali's partisans, who did not know what had happened and believed him to be 'Ali's enemy. He was then sixty-four years old. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 70 ff; *Isti'âb* I, 201 ff.) According to one report (cf. *Isti'âb* I, 203), it was 'Ali himself who met him on the day of the Battle of the Camel and induced him to desist from fight. In his life-time az-Zubayr was the wealthiest of all Companions (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 77).

2 This refers to the Tradition quoted under No. 3 in this section and, more fully, in Bkh liii, *sûrah* ix, sec. 9, No. 3. The word *ḥawârî* is used in the Qur'ân as denoting the disciples, or companions, of Jesus. More generally, it denotes "one who advises, or counsels, or acts, sincerely, honestly, or faithfully; . . . a friend, or true, or sincere, friend . . . or a strenuous assistant, . . . or an assistant of prophets" (Lane II, 666). The original meaning of this word is probably "one who whitens clothes . . . by washing and beating them . . . Hence its pl. *ḥawâriyyûn* is applied to the companions (i.e., apostles and disciples) of Jesus, because their trade was to do this" (*ibid.*). This meaning is also given in al-Bukhârî's subsequent remark in this *tarjumah*; but it is understood that Ibn 'Abbâs used the word in its general sense as "helper of prophets".

3 It is astonishing that al-Bukhârî—as well as most of the other Traditionists, with the exception of Muslim (see *Hady as-Sâri* II, 164)—accept Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam as transmitter of Traditions. As a matter of fact, the record of this man is so bad that no reliance whatever can be placed on the stories he told; but the older Traditionists were unfortunately only too ready to accept without deeper criticism the narratives of anyone who, while being a Muslim, had seen the Prophet. But Marwân's whole history shows that he was entirely unscrupulous. He acted as 'Uthmân's secretary, and in that capacity he frequently intrigued against some of the most prominent Companions, and went to the extent of misusing 'Uthmân's name—without the latter's

‘UTHMÂN fell so ill with a violent bleeding from the nose in the year when that illness was prevalent,¹ that he was prevented from going on pilgrimage and made his last will.² A man of the Quraysh came unto him and said: Appoint thy successor.—[‘Uthmân] asked: And did [the people] say this?—[The man] answered: Yea.—[‘Uthmân] said: And who shall it be?—But [the man] remained silent. Then another man came unto him—I believe, al-Ḥārith³—and said: Appoint thy successor.—[‘Uthmân] asked: And did [the people] say this?—[The other] said: Yea.—[‘Uthmân] said: who shall it be?—But [the man] remained silent. [‘Uthmân] said: Perchance they have said, az-Zubayr?—[The man] answered: Yea.—[‘Uthmân] said: By Him in Whose hand is my soul! He is indeed the best of them, as well I know; and indeed he was the dearest of them all unto the Apostle of God.⁴

أصاب عثمان بن عفان رعاف شديد سنة الرعاف حتى حبسه عن الحج وأوصى. فدخل عليه رجل من قریش قال: استخلف. — قال: وقالوه؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: ومن؟ — فسكت. فدخل عليه رجل آخر — أحسبه الحرث — فقال: استخلف. — فقال عثمان: وقالوا؟ — فقال: نعم. — قال: ومن هو؟ — فسكت. قال: فلعلهم قالوا الزبير؟ — قال: نعم. — قال: أما والذي نفسي بيده! إنه لخيرهم ما علمت، وإن كان لأحبهم إلى رسول الله ﷺ.

- 2 ‘Ubayd ibn Ismâ’il related to me: Abû Usâmah related to us, on the authority of Hishâm: My father [‘Urwah] informed me:

٢ حدثني عبيد بن اسمعيل: حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام: أخبرني أبي:

knowledge—for his own purposes, and was several times rebuked by ‘Uthmân. The majority of the Muslims hated him and often complained to the Caliph against him (Ibn Sa’d V, 24 f). ‘Ā’ishah is reported (*ibid.*, p. 25) to have said that she would like to have a mill-stone fastened to his legs and have him thrown into the sea. He often incited one group of Muslims against another in order to fish in troubled waters. One of his infamous tricks (cf. Ṭabari V, 218 f) indirectly contributed to the downfall of ‘Uthmân. Himself seriously wounded on the occasion of the murder of ‘Uthmân, Marwân subsequently joined ‘Ā’ishah’s group and took part in the Battle of the Camel (36 A.H.). On the same day he murdered Ṭalhah ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh (who also was a partisan of ‘Ā’ishah) on the pretext that he was responsible for the murder of ‘Uthmân (Ibn Sa’d V, 26). During Mu’āwiyah’s Caliphate he repeatedly acted as governor of Madīnah. After the death of Mu’āwiyah ibn Yazid he succeeded, by means of a series of discreditable intrigues, to be elected as Caliph by the people of Damascus in 64 A.H. (*ibid.*, p. 26 ff), and was murdered in the next year by the widow of his predecessor, against whom he had ignominiously behaved (*ibid.*, p. 30).—In these circumstances, it is impossible to attribute the least credit to narratives which have Marwân among their transmitters, and especially to those which refer to political questions, like the one under consideration. Al-Bukhārī’s acceptance of these narratives was undoubtedly a serious mistake.

1 According to *Fath al-Bārī* VII, 64, this illness, called *ar-ru’āf*, was prevalent in Madīnah in the year 31 A.H.

2 Obviously, in expectation of death.

3 Al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam, brother of the narrator, Marwân (‘Ayni XVI, 224).

4 This story is an obvious attempt to prevent, after the assassination of ‘Uthmân, the public recognition of ‘Alī’s election to the Caliphate.

I HEARD Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam [say]¹: I was with 'Uthmân, when a man came and said: Appoint thy successor.—['Uthmân] said: And hath that one been named?—[The man] answered: Yea, az-Zubayr.—['Uthmân] said thrice: By God! Indeed ye know that he is the best of you.

3 Mâlik ibn Ismâ'il related to us: 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Abî Salamah related to us, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir, on the authority of Jâbir, who said:

THE Prophet said: Behold, every prophet hath helpers²; and az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwâm is a helper of mine.

4 Ahmad ibn Muḥammad related to us: 'Abd Allâh informed us: Hishâm ibn 'Urwah informed us: on the authority of his father,

ON the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubayr³, who said: On the Day of the Confederates⁴, I and 'Umar ibn Abî Salamah⁵ were with the Prophet's womenfolk.⁶ And lo, I saw [my father,] Ibn az-Zubayr, riding on his mare to and fro Banû Qurayzah⁷. When I returned [home], I said: O my father! I saw thee going to and fro [the enemy]!—He said: Didst thou, then, see me,

سمعت مروان : كنت عند عثمان أتاه رجل فقال : استخلف. — قال : وقيل ذاك ؟ — قال : نعم ، الزبير . — قال : أما والله إنكم لتعلمون أنه خيركم ، — ثلاثا .

٣ حدثنا مالك بن اسمعيل : حدثنا عبد العزيز — هو ابن أبي سلمة — عن محمد بن المنكدر عن جابر (رض) قال :

قال النبي ﷺ : إن لكل نبي حوارى ، وإن حوارى الزبير بن العوام .

٤ حدثنا أحمد بن محمد : أخبرنا عبد الله : أخبرنا هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

عن عبد الله بن الزبير قال : كنت يوم الأحزاب جعلت أنا وعمر بن أبي سلمة في النساء . فنظرت فإذا أنا بالزبير على فرسه يختلف إلى بني قريظة مرتين أو ثلاثا . فلها رجعت قلت : يا أبت رأيتك تختلف. — قال : أوهل رأيتني

1 See p. 71, n. 3, and p. 72, n. 4.

2 See p. 71, n. 2.

3 He was born at Madinah in 1 A.H., having been one of the first children born among the Muhājirs. After the death of Mu'āwiyah ibn Yazid, he proclaimed himself Caliph in Mecca in 64 or 65 A.H.—while Marwân ibn al-Ḥakam was elected as Caliph at Damascus—and the population of Mecca swore allegiance to him. He was killed, seventy-one years old, during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwân, after the siege and conquest of Mecca by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yûsuf (73 A.H.), and al-Ḥajjāj ordered his body to be crucified. (*Isti'âb* I, 352 f.) At the time of the events narrated in the above Tradition he was three or four years old; it is thus somewhat curious that his narrative has been accepted by the Traditionists. Ibn Ḥajar, however, does not find this strange (cf. *Fath al-Bârî* VII, 65 f).

4 The Campaign of the Moat (*al-Khandaq*), also called the Day of the Confederates, took place in the year 4 or 5 A.H. For details and the explanation of the name, see Bkh lii/31.

5 'Umar ibn Abî Salamah was the Prophet's adopted son, for the latter had married his mother, Umm Salamah, after her first husband's (Abû Salamah's) death. According to *Isti'âb* II, 421, he was born in Abyssinia in 2 A.H., and was thus at the time of the Campaign of the Moat two or three years old.

6 They were in the fort (*uṭum*) of Madinah (cf. Muslim, K. *Faḍḍ'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*, B. *Faḍḍ'il Ṭaḥḥah wa'z-Zubayr*).

7 One of the Jewish tribes confederated with the pagan Quraysh against the Muslims (see Bkh lii/31).

O my little son?—I answered: Yea.—He [then] said: The Apostle of God had said: Who will go to Banū Qurayzah and bring me information about them? So I went. And when I returned, the Apostle of God named me together with both of his parents, saying: I would sacrifice for thee my father and my mother!

- 5 'Ali ibn Ḥaṣṣ related to us: Ibn al-Mubārak related to us: Hishām ibn 'Urwah informed us, on the authority of his father:

ON the day of the battle of Yarmūk¹, the companions of the Prophet² said unto az-Zubayr³: Wilt thou not assault [the enemy]? For then we shall assault [them] together with thee.—Thereupon he attacked them, and received two wounds on his shoulder; between these two there was an [old] wound which he had received on the day of [the battle of] Badr.

'Urwah added: When I was a child I would place my fingers in play into these scars.⁴

SECTION XV

CONCERNING ṬALḤAH IBN 'UBAYD ALLĀH⁵

'Umar said: The Prophet remained pleased with him unto his death.⁶

يا بني؟ — قلت: نعم. — قال: كان رسول الله ﷺ قال: من يأت بني قريظة فيأتيهم بخبرهم؟ فانطلقت. فلما رجعت جمع لي رسول الله ﷺ أبويه فقال: فذاك أبي وأمي!

ه حدثنا علي بن حفص: حدثنا ابن المبارك: أخبرنا هشام بن عروة عن أبيه

أن أصحاب النبي ﷺ قالوا للزبير يوم وقعة اليرموك: ألا تشد؟ فنشد معك. — فحمل عليهم فضربوه ضربتين على عاتقه بينهما ضربة ضربها يوم بدر.

قال عروة: فكنت أدخل أصابعي في تلك الضربات ألعب وأنا صغير.

باب ١٥

ذكر طلحة بن عبيد الله

وقال عمر: توفي النبي ﷺ وهو عنه راض.

1 Jumādā II, 13 A.H. This battle ended with a complete victory of the Muslim army over greatly superior Byzantine forces.

2 There were, according to Ibn al-Athīr II, 281, about 1,000 Companions in the Muslim army; about one hundred of them had participated in the battle of Badr.

3 Because he had been one of the most intimate Companions (one of the ten to whom the Prophet had announced Paradise), he was regarded with particular esteem.

4 The narrator 'Urwah was az-Zubayr's son.

5 Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Qurashī at-Taymī. He embraced Islām at about the same time as Abū Bakr. Ten days before the battle of Badr he was sent by the Prophet, together with Sa'id ibn Zayd, on a secret military mission to the confines of Syria, and returned too late to take part in the battle of Badr. During the battle of Uhūd he saved the Prophet's life, and subsequently took part in all the campaigns led by the latter. On the day of the Battle of the Camel (36 A.H.), when he was sixty-two or sixty-four years old, he was murdered by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (both being partisans of 'Ā'ishah), as Marwān held him responsible for the murder of 'Uthmān. (Ibn Sa'd III/i, 152 ff.) As regards his rôle at 'Uthmān's death, it is reported (*Isti'āb* I, 207) that "some people believed that Ṭalḥah was one of those who had besieged 'Uthmān [in his house before he was murdered]". This allegation, however, cannot be substantiated by any authoritative report.

6 Fragment from the long Tradition quoted in sec. 9.

- 1 Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to me: Mu'tamir related to us, on the authority of his father¹, on the authority of Abū 'Uthmān, who said:

ON one of the days when the Apostle of God was fighting,² none remained with him³ save Ṭalḥah and Sa'd⁴, as was related by these two.⁵

- 2 Musaddad related to us: Khālid related to us: Ibn Abī Khālid related to us,

ON the authority of Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim⁶, who said: I saw that hand of Ṭalḥah which had saved the Prophet⁷; it was already withered.

SECTION XVI

THE VIRTUES OF SA'D IBN ABĪ WAQQĀṢ AZ-ZUHRĪ⁸

The Banū Zuhrah were maternal uncles of the Prophet.⁹—His real name was Sa'd ibn Mālik.

- ١ حدثني محمد بن أبي بكر المقدمي : حدثنا معتمر عن أبيه عن أبي عثمان قال :

« لم يبق مع النبي ﷺ في بعض تلك الأيام التي قاتل فيهن رسول الله ﷺ غير طلحة وسعد، عن حديثهما. »

- ٢ حدثنا مسدد : حدثنا خالد : حدثنا ابن أبي خالد

عن قيس بن أبي حازم قال : رأيت يد طلحة التي وقى بها النبي ﷺ قد شلت.

باب ١٦

مناقب سعد بن أبي وقاص الزهري

وبنو زهرة أحوال النبي ﷺ. — وهو سعد ابن مالك.

- 1 Sulaymān at-Taymī (*Faṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 66).

- 2 This refers to the battle of Uḥud, where many of the Muslims had forsaken the Prophet and fled.

- 3 I.e., in his immediate vicinity, because many other Muslims had remained in fight on that day.

- 4 Sc., ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (see next section).

- 5 Cf. *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* VII, 66, where another version of this Tradition is mentioned: the narrator, Abū 'Uthmān, was asked how he knew it, and he answered: "These two have told it to me."

- 6 Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim al-Bajalī, famous *tābi'i* and Traditionist (d. 37 A.H.). He became Muslim in the Prophet's time, and was on his way to Madinah, when the Prophet died (*Tadhkirah* I, 58).

- 7 On the day of the battle of Uḥud, Ṭalḥah saved the Prophet's life by intercepting an arrow aimed at the latter with his naked hand, which was shattered and subsequently dried up; then he bore the Prophet, who himself was wounded, on his shoulders out of the thick of the battle and up the hill (*Isti'āb* I, 207). Abū Bakr later saw that Ṭalḥah had received on that day about seventy wounds (*Aṭ-Ṭayālīsī*, p. 3).

- 8 Sa'd embraced Islām at a very early period (probably on the same day as Abū Bakr; cf. p. 76, n. 3); he was then nineteen years old. He was one of the most intimate Companions of the Prophet and took part in almost all of the latter's campaigns; he was also one of the ten to whom Paradise had been announced. During the conquest of 'Irāq he was the commander-in-chief, and founded the town of Kūfah. For some time he acted as governor of that country, and was recalled by 'Umar in 21 A.H. (cf. p. 59, n. 1). His devotion to the cause of Muslim unity was so great (if somewhat passive) that throughout the civil wars which ensued after 'Uthmān's death he remained secluded in his house and requested his family not to inform him of anything that happened until the whole community would agree upon one leader. He died in his castle at al-'Aqīq, near Madinah; there is some difference of opinion regarding the date of his death, which is variously given as 54, 55 or 58 A.H. He reached the age of above seventy or, according to others, above eighty. (*Isti'āb* I, 544 f.)

- 9 The Prophet's mother, Āminah, belonged to the clan of Banū Zuhrah.

- 1 Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to me: 'Abd al-Wahhâb related to us, saying: I heard Yahyâ say: I heard Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab say:

I HEARD Sa'd say: The Prophet named me, on the day of [the battle of] Uhud, together with both of his parents.¹

- 2 Makki ibn Ibrâhîm related to us: Hâshim ibn Hâshim² related to us, on the authority of 'Âmir ibn Sa'd,

ON the authority of his father [Sa'd], who said: Verily, I believe that [for some time] I represented one-third of Islâm.³

- 3 Ibrâhîm ibn Mûsâ related to me: Ibn Abi Zâ'idah informed us: Hâshim ibn Hâshim ibn 'Utbah ibn Abi Waqqâs related to us, saying: I heard Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab say:

I HEARD Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqâs say: No man⁴ embraced Islâm before the day on which I did it; and, verily, for seven days I represented one-third of Islâm.

Abû Usâmah corroborated him⁵ [saying]: Hâshim related to us.

- 4 'Amr ibn 'Awn related to us: Khâlid ibn 'Abd Allâh related to us, on the authority of Ismâ'il, on the authority of Qays, who said:

١ حدثني محمد بن المثني: حدثنا عبد الوهاب قال: سمعت يحيى قال: سمعت سعيد بن المسيب قال: سمعت سعداً يقول: جمع لي النبي ﷺ أبويه يوم أحد.

٢ حدثنا مكى بن ابراهيم: حدثنا هاشم بن هاشم عن عامر بن سعد

عن أبيه قال: لقد رأيتني وأنا ثلث الاسلام.

٣ حدثني ابراهيم بن موسى: أخبرنا ابن أبي زائدة: حدثنا هاشم بن هاشم بن عتبة بن أبي وقاص قال: سمعت سعيد بن المسيب يقول:

سمعت سعد بن أبي وقاص يقول: ما أسلم أحد الا في اليوم الذي أسلمت فيه، ولقد مكثت سبعة أيام وإني لثلث الاسلام.

تابعه أبو أسامة: حدثنا هاشم.

٤ حدثنا عمرو بن عون: حدثنا خالد بن عبد الله عن اسمعيل عن قيس قال:

1 I.e., he said, "I would sacrifice for thee my father and my mother"—the strongest expression, in ancient Arabian speech, of love and devotion.

2 In some texts, this name is spelt Hishâm ibn Hâshim, which is probably a copyist's mistake. We find no evidence of any disciple of 'Âmir ibn Sa'd (see *isnâd*) by the name of Hishâm, but, on the other hand, one Hâshim ibn Hâshim; see *Rijâl aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn* I, 376.

3 Meaning, that there were but two Muslims beside him. If this is to be taken literally, it is obviously a mistake: for though Sa'd embraced Islâm immediately after Abû Bakr, there were already several other Muslims at that time (cf. sec. 6, No. 1). It is, however, most probable that Sa'd referred only to the three free-born, adult Muslims, i.e., Khadijah, Abû Bakr and himself. He did not count 'Ali, who was only a child, nor the five slaves (see Bkh, *loc. cit.*). It appears that Sa'd accepted Islâm on the same day as Abû Bakr, and that there was only a matter of hours between his and Abû Bakr's conversion; this can be inferred from Ibn Sa'd III/i, 98, where Sa'd says: "No man embraced Islâm before me save a man who embraced Islâm on the day I did it"—whereby only Abû Bakr can be meant. The same, if less clearly, can be inferred from No. 3 in this section.

4 Lit., "no one"; but as in this case it evidently refers only to men and not to women (for Khadijah was the *first* of all Muslims), I have rendered it as "no man". As regards the other men who embraced Islâm before Sa'd, see preceding note.

5 I.e., the transmitter Ibn Abi Zâ'idah. The full *isnâd* from which this corroboration has been taken is found in Bkh li/7.

I HEARD Sa'd say: Behold, I was the first of the Arabs who shot an arrow in the path of God.¹ And [often] we went forth with the Prophet to fight, and had no food save tree leaves, and our excrements were crumbly like those of camels or sheep. And now the Banû Asad blame me for my not having understood Islâm!² Verily, [if this be true,] I must have failed entirely, and all my deeds were in vain!—(They caluminated him before 'Umar, saying: He doth not know how to pray.)

سمعت سعداً (رض) يقول: إني لأول العرب رمى بسهم في سبيل الله. وكنا نغزو مع النبي ﷺ ومالنا طعام الا ورق الشجر حتى إن أحداً ليضع كما يضع البعير أو الشاة ماله خلط. ثم أصبحت بنو أسد تعزرنى على الاسلام! لقد خبت اذاً وضل عملي!—(وكانوا وشوا به الى عمر قالوا: لا يحسن يصلى.)

SECTION XVII

CONCERNING THE PROPHET'S RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE: OF THESE WAS ABU'L-ÂŞ IBN AR-RABÎ*

باب ١٧

ذكر أصحاب النبي ﷺ: منهم أبو العاص ابن الربيع

- 1 Abu'l-Yamân related to us: Shu'ayb informed us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, who said: 'Ali ibn Husayn related to me that al-Miswar ibn Makhramah said:

١ حدثنا أبو اليان: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري قال: حدثني علي بن حسين أن المسور بن مخرمة قال:

1 This refers to the first military expedition ever sent by the Prophet, in the year 1 A.H. (*Fath al-Bârî* VII, 68). Its commander was 'Ubaydah ibn al-Hârith ibn al-Muṭṭalib, and Sa'd was the standard-bearer; it was the first time the Prophet employed a standard of his own ('Aynî XVI, 229). The object of this expedition was to intercept a caravan of the Quraysh near Râbigh (on the west coast of the Hîjâz), but it ended with no more than an exchange of arrow-shots, as the Muslims were too weak to overcome their adversaries. According to Ibn Sa'd III/i, 99, the Muslim warriors numbered only sixty.

2 Lit., "blame me on account of Islâm". This refers to the unjust complaints made by some people of the clan Banû Asad in Kûfah against Sa'd (see p. 59, n. 1), as is mentioned at the end of this Tradition. Sa'd refutes them by saying that he was one of the oldest Companions of the Prophet and had undergone much suffering for the sake of Islâm, and so he could not be reasonably supposed to be negligent or ignorant in so fundamental a matter like prayer, as those intriguers had alleged.

3 By "relatives by marriage" only those are meant who had married the Prophet's daughters. Al-Bukhârî mentions in this section only Abu'l-Âş, as the two other sons-in-law of the Prophet—'Uthmân and 'Alî—have been mentioned in separate sections. Abu'l-Âş ibn ar-Rabî' married the Prophet's daughter Zaynab. He was a nephew of Khadijah. His real name is uncertain, but it was most probably Laqîṭ. At the beginning he sided with the pagan Quraysh and took part with them in the battle of Badr. Taken prisoner by the Muslims, he was later ransomed by his wife, Zaynab, who—although a Muslimah—had remained with him in Mecca. The Prophet allowed him to return on the condition that he would send Zaynab to Madinah, as she could not remain the wife of an unbeliever. Abu'l-Âş faithfully fulfilled his promise and sent Zaynab to Madinah. Shortly before the conquest of Mecca he was again taken prisoner by the Muslims in one of the minor campaigns. In Madinah he took refuge in the house of Zaynab, and subsequently embraced Islâm; thereupon Zaynab was given back to him as his wife. He died in the year 12 A.H. (*Isti'âb* II, 671 f.)

‘ALĪ demanded in marriage a daughter of Abū Jahl¹; when Fāṭimah heard of this, she went to the Apostle of God and said: Thy people think that thou never feelest anger on account of thy daughters²; and now ‘Alī is going to marry the daughter of Abū Jahl.—Thereupon the Apostle of God rose, and I³ heard him repeat the Creed⁴ and say: To come to the point. Behold, I gave [a daughter of mine⁵] in marriage to Abū-l-‘Āṣ ibn ar-Rabi⁶; and he spake unto me, and spake the truth.⁶ Behold, Fāṭimah is a part of me, and it paineth me to see her wronged. By God! It cannot be that a daughter of the Apostle of God should be united in one and the same man’s house with a daughter of God’s enemy!⁷—Thereupon ‘Alī gave up his intended marriage.

- 2 And⁸ Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥalḥalah told [the same Tradition], with some additions, on the authority of Ibn Shihāb, on the authority of ‘Alī, on the authority of Miswar:

I HEARD the Prophet mention one of his relatives my marriage who belonged to Banū ‘Abd ash-Shams⁹; he extolled his good conduct in their relationship, and said: He spake unto me, and spake the truth; and he gave me a promise, and fulfilled it.

إِن عَلِيًّا خُطِبَ بِنْتُ أَبِي جَهْلٍ، فَسَمِعْتُ
بِذَلِكَ فَاطِمَةَ فَأَتَتْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَقَالَتْ: يَزْعِمُ
قَوْمُكَ أَنَّكَ لَا تَغْضَبُ لِبَنَاتِكَ، وَهَذَا عَلِيٌّ نَاكِحُ
بِنْتِ أَبِي جَهْلٍ. — فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَسَمِعْتَهُ
حِينَ تَشْهَدُ يَقُولُ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ. فَأَنِي أَنْكِحْتُ أَبَا
الْعَاصِ بْنِ الرَّيْعِ، فَخَدَّثَنِي وَصَدَّقَنِي. وَإِن فَاطِمَةَ
بِضْعَةٍ مِنِّي وَإِنِّي أَكْرَهُ أَنْ يَسُوءَهَا. وَاللَّهِ لَا يَجْتَمِعُ
بِنْتُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَبِنْتُ عَدُوِّ اللَّهِ عِنْدَ رَجُلٍ وَاحِدٍ!
— فَتَرَكْتُ عَلَى الْخُطْبَةِ.

- ٢ وزاد محمد بن عمرو بن حلحلة عن ابن شهاب
عن علي عن مسور:

سَمِعْتُ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ وَذَكَرَ صَهْرًا لَهُ مِنْ بَنِي
عَبْدِ شَمْسٍ فَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ فِي مَصَاهِرَتِهِ أَيَّاهُ فَأَحْسَنَ،
قَالَ: حَدَّثَنِي فَصَدَّقَنِي وَوَعَدَنِي فَوَفَّى لِي.

1 This happened after the conquest of Mecca (8 A.H.), when even the bitterest enemies of the Prophet accepted Islām. The girl’s name was Juwayriyah. She subsequently married ‘Attāb ibn Asīd (Ibn Sa’d VIII, 191), who had embraced Islām after the conquest of Mecca and was appointed by the Prophet governor of that city; he died in 12 A.H. (*Isti‘āb* II, 508). After ‘Attāb’s death, Juwayriyah married Abān ibn Sa’id ibn al-‘Āṣ (Ibn Sa’d, *loc. cit.*).

2 I.e., “they think that thou dost not protect them”. This opinion was due to the Prophet’s severe impartiality. It is evident from many a Tradition that in matters of conduct he did not make the slightest difference between his own relatives and other Muslims.

3 I.e., the narrator al-Miswar ibn Makhramah.

4 I.e., the *kalimah*; see p. 69, n. 7.

5 Zaynab.

6 This refers to the promise made by Abū-l-‘Āṣ, while still an unbeliever, to send Zaynab back to her father (cf. p. 77, n. 3).

7 This expostulation was not based on an injunction of the *shari‘ah* (for, before the latter all Muslims are equal) but on a consideration of the feelings of the persons concerned (cf. Bkh. xlvi/202, No. 6).

8 The following is a fragment from another Tradition (Bkh xlvi/202, No. 6), similar to that in No. 1. The author omits here the beginning of the *isnād*, which is fully given *loc. cit.*

9 I.e., Abū-l-‘Āṣ ibn ar-Rabi⁶; he belonged to the clan of Banū ‘Abd ash-Shams.

SECTION XVIII

THE VIRTUES OF ZAYD IBN HĀRITHAH,
THE PROPHET'S FREEDMAN¹

Al-Barā' said, on the authority of the Prophet [who said]: Thou art our brother² and our freedman.³

- 1 Khālid ibn Makhḥad related to us: Sulaymān related to us, saying: 'Abd Allāh ibn Dinār related to me, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar, who said:

THE Prophet sent out an expedition⁴ and gave its command to Usāmah ibn Zayd⁵. Some people objected to his commandership,⁶ whereupon the Prophet said: Ye object to his commandership as ye have objected to that of his father before.⁷ On God do I take mine oath that he was worthy of commandership and was one of the dearest of men to me; and after him, behold, this one⁸ is one of the dearest of men to me.

باب ١٨

مناقب زيد بن حارثة مولى النبي ﷺ

وقال البراء عن النبي ﷺ: أنت أخونا ومولانا.

- ١ حدثنا خالد بن مخلد: حدثنا سليمان قال: حدثني عبد الله بن دينار عن عبد الله بن عمر (رض) قال:

بُعث النبي ﷺ بعثاً وأمر عليهم أسامة ابن زيد، فطعن بعض الناس في إمارته فقال النبي ﷺ: إن تطعنوا في إمارته فقد كنتم تطعنون في إماره أبيه من قبل. وإيم الله إن كان خليقاً للإمارة وإن كان لمن أحب الناس إلى، وإن هذا لمن أحب الناس إلى بعده.

1 Zayd ibn Hārithah al-Kalbī was taken prisoner, while still a child, in one of the inter-tribal raids before Islām, and was sold as a slave to Ḥakīm ibn Hizām, Khadijah's nephew, who bought him for his aunt. The latter gave the boy as a present to the Prophet, who freed and adopted him at the age of eight; this was before the Mission. Zayd was one of the oldest adherents of the Prophet (cf. p. 25, n. 1). He later married Umm Ayman (see p. 25, n. 2), who bore him a son, Usāmah. He participated in most of the Prophet's expeditions and fell in the campaign of Mu'tah, of which he was the leader, in 8 A.H. (*Isti'āb* I, 185 ff; Ibn Sa'd III/i, 27 ff.)

2 I.e., in Islām.

3 This is a fragment of a long Tradition quoted in full in Bkh xliii/6, No. 2.

4 It was the last expedition undertaken by the Muslims during the Prophet's life-time; its goal was the border of Syria (see Bkh lii/89).

5 Zayd's son, to whom the next section is devoted.

6 He was eighteen years at that time, and some Companions took objection to his extreme youth (Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 46). There might have been another reason as well: in the Time of Ignorance some people suspected that Usāmah was not Zayd's son, because his complexion was very dark and that of his father "white like cotton"; but this was due to the dark complexion of his mother, Umm Ayman (*Fath al-Bārī* XII, 46 f).

7 The reason of this objection against Zayd is difficult to ascertain. It is possible that it was based on the fact that Zayd had been a slave in his childhood; the old Arabian pride, not yet quite tempered by the influence of Islām, made it difficult for some people to accept the leadership of a "slave". But, on the other hand, this attitude is and always was based on race prejudice; this was certainly out of place in Zayd's case, for he was of pure Arab stock and had been sold as slave after having been taken prisoner in an inter-tribal feud. It is possible, nevertheless, that the irrational stigma of once having been a slave still stuck to him. With the deepening of Islāmic consciousness, however, this prejudice vanished, and we find slaves, or some-time slaves, among the greatest military and political leaders in Muslim history.

8 I.e., Usāmah ibn Zayd.

- 2 Yahyā ibn Qaza'ah related to us: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, on the authority of 'Urwah,

ON the authority of 'Ā'ishah, who said: A tracker¹ came once to me while the Prophet was present and Usāmah ibn Zayd and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah were lying asleep,² and said [pointing to their feet³]: These feet have sprung from each other.⁴

['Urwah] said:

And the Prophet was pleased [with this saying] and liked it,⁵ and spake to 'Ā'ishah about it

SECTION XIX

CONCERNING USĀMAH IBN ZAYD⁶

- 1 Qutaybah ibn Sa'id related to us: Layth related to us, on the authority of az-Zuhri, on the authority of 'Urwah, on the authority of 'Ā'ishah:

THE Quraysh were preoccupied with the matter of the Makhzūmī woman⁷, and they said: Who can dare to speak to him⁸ but Usāmah ibn Zayd, the darling of the Apostle of God?

حدثنا يحيى بن قرعة: حدثنا إبراهيم بن سعد عن الزهري عن عروة

عن عائشة (رض) قالت: دخل علي قائف والنبي ﷺ شاهد وأسامة بن زيد وزيد بن حارثة مضطجعان، فقال: إن هذه الأقدام بعضها من بعض.

قال:

فسر بذلك النبي ﷺ وأعجبه فأخبر به عائشة.

باب ١٩

ذكر أسامة بن زيد

- ١ حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا ليث عن الزهري عن عروة عن عائشة (رض)

أن قريشاً أهمهم شأن المخزومية فقالوا: من يجترئ عليه إلا أسامة بن زيد حب رسول الله ﷺ؟

1 Arabic, *qā'if* (from *qawafa*), one who is skilled in reading the traces of men and animals (*Nihāyah* III, 318). To this day, such people are employed in Arabia to track strayed camels in the desert, and sometimes also criminals, and they often display an almost uncanny skill, divining from mere traces in the sand the most astonishing particulars concerning the man or animal they seek.

2 Zayd was the Prophet's adopted son, and so he and Usāmah were regarded as members of the family.

3 It seems that they were covered with a blanket, and only their feet were visible.

4 Thus the *qā'if*, who knew much about these things, at once recognised that the feet which were visible from under the blanket belonged to father and son; and this was an evidence against the popular belief (see p. 79, n. 6) that Usāmah was not Zayd's son.

5 Because thus it was shown that the suspicion regarding Usāmah's illegitimate birth was without foundation.

6 He was deeply loved by the Prophet and, therefore, called by the people the "darling of the Apostle of God" (cf. Ibn Sa'd IV/i, 42, and also the subsequent Tradition). He died during the reign of Mu'āwiyah, most probably in 54 A.H. (*Istī'āb* I, 30).

7 Her name was Fāṭimah bint al-Aswad ibn 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī (Ibn Sa'd VIII, 192). She stole some pieces of jewellery, and the Prophet ordered her right hand to be cut. For particulars of this incident, see Bkh lxxiii/12. The Quraysh were distressed about this affair—for the Banū Makhzūm were a noble clan—and they were thinking of sending someone to the Prophet to intercede on the woman's behalf.

8 I.e., to the Prophet.

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